

KLASH

International Magazine



\$	3.-
Pds	3.-
Pta	300
FF	18
DM	6.-
SFr	6,50
ÖS	35
FL	6,50

Number 8

May 1993

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

- 4 Introducing: Maintopics
- 5 Maintopic: Reactionary Mobilization
- 6 Maintopic: Patriarchy

COUNTER INFORMATION

- 8 Area Critica (Spain)
- 9 Bad Attitude (Great Britain)
- Rebelles (France)
- 10 European Counter Network ECN / Spidernet

DISCUSSION

- 14 Antifascist Action (Germany)
- 24 International Event on Political Prisoners
- 37 Perspectives of Socialism

INTERNATIONAL REPORTS

- 42 ITALY A Current Report
- 46 Squatting in Rome
- International Squatters Network ISN
- 48 SPAIN A Letter from Spain
- 52 GRAPO-Prisoner unfit to undergo detention
- 54 GERMANY Prison Bombed by the RAF
- 58 Antifascist Imprisoned
- 61 Kurt Bögelein Dead
- 62 PALESTINE A Current Report
- 66 LIBYA International Youth Friendship Camp

PATRIARCHY

- 73 On the So-called Mensquestion

MASTHEAD

The CLASH developed from the International Infoshop Meeting IIM, a half-yearly meeting of infoshops from different European countries. The pilot issue was published in 1989. The CLASH is published 3-4 times a year in both an English-language and a German-language issue.

The publisher is an independent redactional collective of people from different European countries. The content is determined by the

discussion of the redaction, the CLASH workshop at the IIM and the international participation.

CLASH is available in good info- and bookshops in Europe, USA, Canada and beyond it. If you don't get it at your infoshop, speak with them if they can organize a collective order. Single orders are too much work for us (overseas of course it's another thing).

PROTECTED PRIVATE PROPERTY !

This magazine remains the property of the sender unless and/or until it has been personally and materially accepted by the prisoner to whom it is addressed. In the event that the prisoner is denied direct personal access to this newspaper, it must be returned to the sender with notice of the reason(s) for failing to deliver it to the addressee.

Postage please in a double sleeve!
(see graphics)

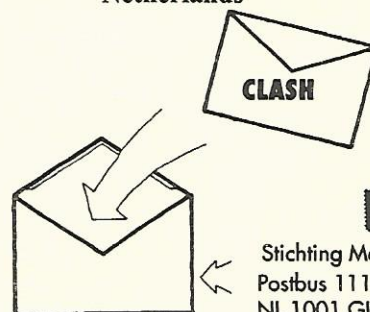
- on the inner sleeve:

CLASH

- on the external sleeve:

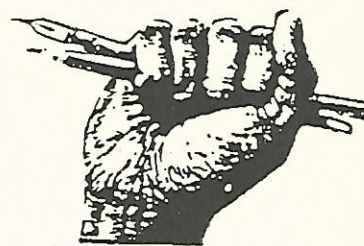
Stichting Marinus vd Lubbe
Postbus 11149

NL 1001 GL Amsterdam
Netherlands



DEADLINE

Contributions that are to be published in the next issue (Nr. 9) have to arrive at us not later than **15 of July 1993**



SUBSCRIPTION FOR PRISONERS

We received many questions of people in prison who want to read the CLASH. Until now we could send the papers. Soon our financial capacities will be exhausted. We are glad about every letter and question from prisoners and about new addresses and would like to go on: but we just can't manage it anymore.

It would be possible to subsidize the prisoners by making the CLASH even more expensive. But who has enough money to afford the newspaper anymore. So shit, it doesn't work neither.

Therefore our appeal to you:

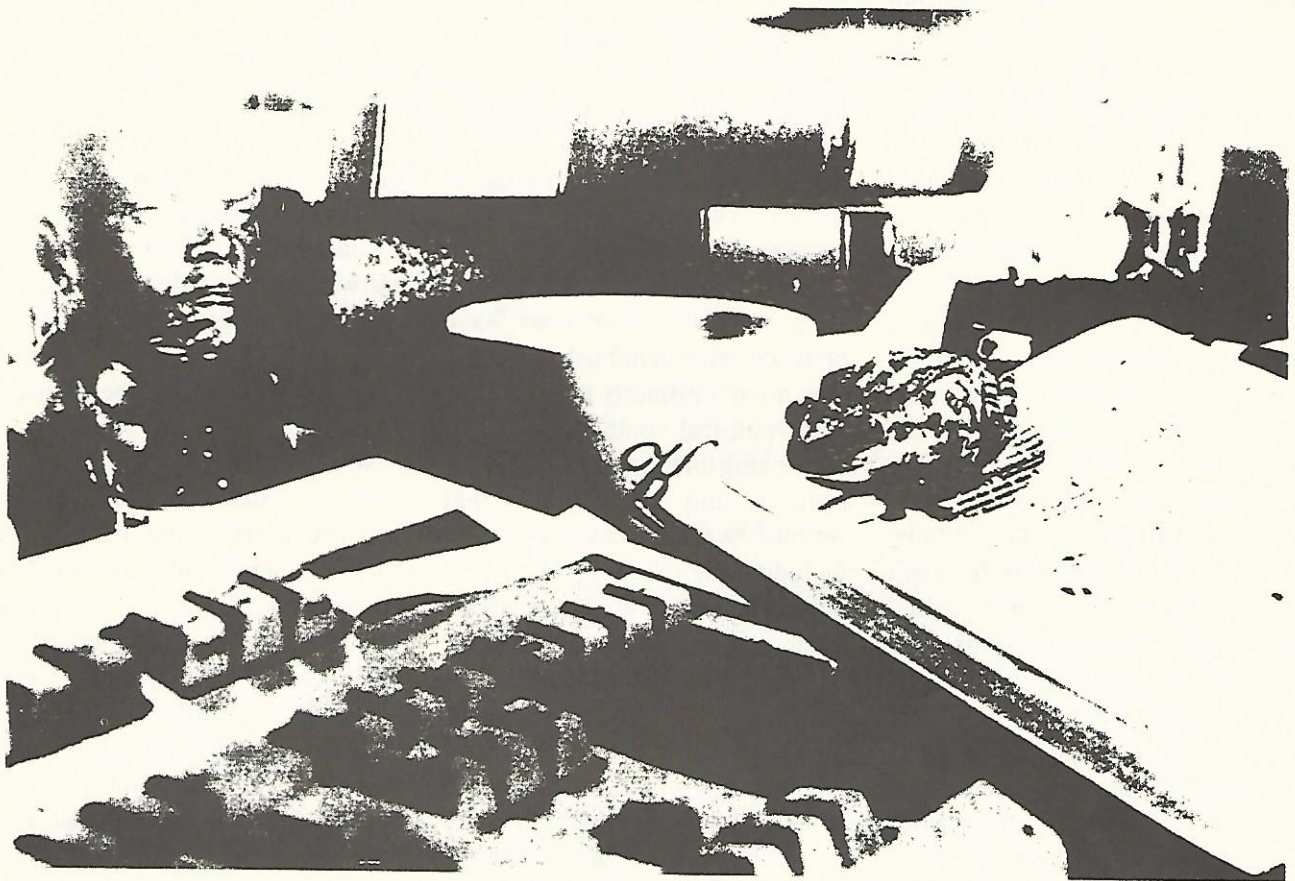
Enable the prisoners participation at the political discussion!

Take care to bring this newspaper into jail!

Overtake subscriptions for prisoners!

Prisoners subscription means: You send us 6 pounds/26 guilders/20 \$ and in return we send 4 editions to a prisoner, we pay the stamps. But without your support we really don't know how to continue.

EDITORIAL



Consolidated?

We are back again, after a little longer period of taking breath, thinking and "pausing". As we already announced in the last issue it took some longer time til this one, because we weren't really satisfied with the results of our work - in content as well as practically. hat met with critics of the CLASH-workshop at the **International Infoshop Meeting IIM** and of you, dear readers.

During this period of thinking over the project a magnificent Local Support Group surprised us with a concept-proposal who's main idea is to establish **Maintopics** in each issue. We think that concept can indeed solve a few of our problems. But one after the other:

We needed the time too to clear some

conflicts between us. In some former Editorials we described a bit lengthy "**how it is between us**", so this time we will make it short. The redaction and by that also the CLASH would really have blown up if we hadn't taken the relations between us very serious. The objective differences between us were and still are quite big: we have different political histories, with different approaches, experiences and perspectives, we don't see us very often and always too short, in all-day-private-and-political-life we meet almost never.. In this situation it was most important to get to know and understand each other and to develop mutual **confidence**, to get involved in each other... That was and is a difficult process that didn't work without breakups and divisions. Nevertheless we think that today we can talk much more open and precise with each other and can

discuss also "difficult" questions controversially without having to have fear that this could endanger the bond within the redaction. Perhaps this sounds trivial to you but it isn't! But still too often differing points of view remain standing side by side and are "accepted" but not cleared/solved. Of course that also expresses itself in the magazine.

Hotchpotch or political course?

A often recurring point of critics is that the CLASH hasn't a central Thread as regards content, no political course. It's said to be more an info-sampler than a magazine. That means that it only shows the beginnings of discussions and perspectives but doesn't contribute much to their development. An own political standpoint and

political criterias that assign the contributions according to a specific political course aren't visible. We think this critics is right. We've published lots of information but didn't make much of it. Our often announced prefaces are mostly lacking, contributions in different issues that are related to each other haven't been put into connection by us and attempts of comprehensive accounts on one topic were seldom exceptions.

But what has been perceived as a lack of political course is only partly the result of our failing, it's also the expression of a conscious political decision. Up to now we've published contributions of and on (the most) different movements, organisations and groups. It wasn't important to us if they called themselves anarchistic, communist, marxist-leninist, autonomous, anti-imperialistic or no matter how and if they had developed a long-term political perspective. In contrary: many questions are on the agenda (or have to be put on it); these questions are older than the breakdown of the Soviet Union but face to face with the present reactionary mobilization they become much clearer and urgent. In this situation we can't hand out a new course or insist on an old one and we don't want to do so. This would mean to disregard the questions and also the chances for a future development. But we want to gather from the most various struggles of past and present the pioneer approaches and perspectives. We tried that although we often couldn't connect the different strings together. The aim is the unity of all struggles for liberation and emancipation but this unity has to be fought for again and newly. It takes the serious dispute of everyone and the willingness to take in and discuss the experiences of others and to connect them with the own, to make differences productive and to fight together for

new ways. We know the danger that being "open" can also slip down to reformistic anything goes, but we also know the other side only too well: the fear of weakness that sharpens contradictions even if they could be solved commonly.

From the orders we know that the CLASH is read by a broad range of really different political groups and scenes. We want this to continue because how else could we come to a concerted action.

Also in this openness we have criterias what to publish or not but they are not primarily connected to some political contents. What we are looking for is authentic political practice and discussion - that seriously want's to develop further, including the risk to come to very other results than thought of in the beginning, - that doesn't loose heart nor is afraid of despair, - that want's more than to feather one's nest, than left radical image-neurosis and new hierarchy.

In this context we have to excuse ourselves for a part of our forward to the contribution of Alan Berkman in the last issue: meant is the "shabby" comment on the RZ-declaration "Gerd Albus is dead". That insulting comment was the contrary of constructive critics and discussion - it shows, that we still have to learn.

On the IIM in Berlin in December '92 the Clash was criticized to be "germanized": because of the many contributions from Germany, the specific german discussions and the often bad language quality of the translations.

Unfortunately it's fact that we get send many magazines from all over the world but very seldom articles and those indeed mostly from Germany. We are never able to read all these magazines and to make a careful selection from them. So the "germanized"-criticism is right but we can't change this by our own. We hope that the main topics will

help by making it easier to work on the CLASH too.

Concerning the language quality of the translations our attitude has changed. In the beginning we were satisfied with managing at all to publish the CLASH in two languages. Meanwhile we learned that good translations are very important to be able to understand and to discuss an article. Now we try hard to improve the translations and we think we made some progress (if you stumble over bad translations please tell us concretely: what issue, what article, so we can better learn from it)

Also the distribution - is has to be admitted - causes us some problems. We are sorry some of got the CLASH some months too late. For the future we hope the best ! (?)

The CLASH has a new undertitle: "international magazin" (who noticed it?). With the old undertitle we were discontent for quiet a while now. Nor was "from/for" a very precise formulation neither has "rsistance" in every country the same meaning and it never calls all people who organize and struggle for a solidaric society. The new undertitle is quiet general but although it describes the character of the magazine better than the old one and it's not so misunderstandable and partly even wrong as the old one.

And thanks a lot for the nice and encouraging letters and greetings that reached us in this longer period since the last issue!

Introducing: MAIN TOPICS

Since some time a discussions process has taken place within the redaction and at the international Info-shop meeting. By that, and by criticisms of several sides the necessity of changing the newspaper was made obvious.

A support group developed a proposal to change the structure of CLASH, which was discussed at the IIM and in the redaction. Now we want to present the result to you.

The new structure, with which we'll start from Nr. 9, is supposed to connect the needs for information and discussion in a better way. Therefore the newspaper will be divided in two parts of equal size, namely "main topic" and "information and exchange".

We think that main topics might be a useful means to discuss internationally and to improve knowing and understanding each other. Because the main topics are announced early, single

people and groups will have enough time to discuss about and to prepare contributions. By this way international discussions can emerge without long travels a.s.o. being necessary.

Discussions will get more importance then in CLASH. We think that to be right because today the lack of information is less the problem than what we can make out of it.

The main topics give us the possibility to work ourselves in the respecting topics so that we get able to discuss in a better way. Up to now, we often discussed wildly (and without profound knowledge) about the just present articles. This didn't satisfy us and we couldn't

learn very much in these discussions. We think that also the discussions in the workshop at the IIM can improve by the main topics. As far as we know, in the past there was often the problem of not knowing exactly what to discuss,

because nothing was prepared. So there could not be made much of the chance that comrades from different West-European countries were there.

But we also have to emphasize that the cooperation of many people concerning the main topics is not only a possibility but also a necessity. We cannot hold the international discussion only out of our knowledge and experience. To us it's very important that this concept was taken up positively in the CLASH workshop of the IIM and was already started by the preparation of the main topic "reactionary mobilization". Also the positive reaction of the antifa-workshop to this main topic proposal has encouraged us.

The concept of main topics surely cannot solve all problems, but if it is taken up practically - that means if people and groups work on the main topics, discuss them and send us articles - then that will be a big step forward!

HOW SHALL THIS FUNCTION ???

Both parts - "main topic" and "information and exchange" are to have nearly the extent and importance.

Main Topic:

Every main topic should start with a short overview of the historic development and the present situation in several countries and the left spectrum relating to the respective subject. This is necessary for having a common basis of discussion and for a better understanding and categorizing of the following contributions.

Then several contributions shall discuss the topic under different aspects, examine backgrounds and point out contexts, work out differences and common grounds, a.s.o... That sounds very general; by the presentation of the single topics it will be clearer what is meant.

The questions and aspects which we think are important shall be published in preceding issues.

There will be a column for reactions on preceding main topics too.

Information and exchange:

This part corresponds approximately

to the previous character of the newspaper: reports and analysis from different countries and from different movements and spectrum; articles, interviews, reports on actions, short reports and infos...

How to handle the main topics

The task of redaction and IIM workshop is to discuss those main topics which are important and interesting for the international discussion. The discussion at the IIM has to be prepared so that a continuously debate will be possible. Preparation time is necessary for being able to participate in the main topics. - perhaps others have to be asked for special contributions, may be enquiries are necessary.

Therefore the main topics are to be announced early, namely 10 months in advance.

The redaction informs the CLASH-workshop about its proposals and about those which were sent in. If you send us proposals, it will be good to prepare them as exact as possible. The CLASH-workshop discusses main topics for 3

issues in advance and formulates the ideas and questions concerning the content. The definite decision is made by the redaction which finally has to handle the subject.

In the newspaper the main topics for 3 following issues are presented:

- * the topic of the third issue will be described exactly so that there is enough time to discuss it and to write articles or to look for suitable articles.

- * concerning the second issue, there will be an overview about articles which already will have reached us, to what there have been promises and what is still to be done

- * and the "last appeal" concerning the issue coming next

All that is no completely fixed concept, but shall be an orientation. Even now in the beginning it has to be handled more flexible and of course it's obvious that current events can lead to changes of main topics. And we'll see how the whole thing works, if it is taken up, whether we receive reactions from you, and which ones!

Antifascist perspectives and struggles against the **reactionary mobilization** and fascist development - situations, analyses, discussions

During the last years in nearly all european countries fascist organisations are getting stronger and fascist parties gain more and more votes and there have been a lot of attacks on immigrants, gays and lesbians, on homeless people, handicapped, Lefts... At the same time a malicious campaign against immigrants was raised and in many countries the laws concerning immigrants/refugees were tightened. **For to make visible the parallels and differences in the several countries the main topic should give an overview on:**

- the historical development of fascist organisations and parties, of states propaganda and legislation in correlation to west-european unification

(EEC), and which part/function the fascist parties and organisations take in this process

- the fascist and racist development during the last years
- the development of anti-racist and anti-fascist action and organizing
- the state's reaction on fascist development and on anti-fascist resistance

These contributions should give a background for more profound analysis and theoretical discussions. We think of one or two pages per country.

But not only the number of fascist organisations and votes for fascist parties have increased. There is also a growing acceptance and support of racist and fascist activities by the populations; e.g. during the attacks at a refugee camp in Rostock/FRG. How does the Left/antifascist resistance in the several countries face this reactionary mobilization that cannot only be opposed by attacks against organized fascists? Which reasons do you see for this development?

Towards this question we want to develop a "deeper" discussion with more than only superficial analysis. There could be a collection of articles with analysis from various points of view and different approaches to the item. What are you discussing mainly in your country or city?

Possible approaches could be:

- the social and economic background of fascism, the increasing poverty and social

deregulation as well as the international imperialist development

- the structure of the westeuropean society and culture which is a culture of dominance based on patriarchal structures
- the relation between fascism and patriarchy and also the mens' domination in antifascist struggle
- in which way the Left is organized, what good or bad experiences do you have made
- if there is a split between antifascist and antiracist work

-and last but not least, if being an antifascist means being antisexist and antiracist in daily life too

Of course, situation in the several countries is different. In some countries the organized fascists have more importance than in others, but altogether the reactionary development and the questions and demands on the Left resulting from it seem to be similar.

We think that it should be possible to comrades of european countries to contribute to this discussion by own articles or other publications that you think are useful. If you send us others' articles please add where they were published originally. Also tips on other books/magazines/...are welcome.

Of course an exchange about the different situations is necessary but it would be good to write not too long articles, and the discussions, approaches, developments and ideas should be imparted in a way that it is possible to learn from them.

Possibly you are not able to give answers on all questions mentioned above. Don't worry, never mind! Write down your discussions and experiences towards those questions you are able to. We are looking forward to your contributions!

**THE DEADLINE IS
15 of JULY 1993 !!!**

Clash workshop at the IIM,
Copenhagen April 1993



PATRIARCHY

No. 10, probably coming in beginning of '94

Also this main topic is basing on Clash workshop's discussion at the IIM. We haven't been able to discuss it precisely. The time between IIM and now has been too short. Another reason is that we as editorial staff have no common opinion about it, neither between women and men, nor among women, nor among men.

So this a bit provisional:

Just as the main topic antifascism we would like to have an overview about the situation in the several countries at the beginning:

How is patriarchy, respectively the liberation from its structures discussed in the several countries? How are those discussions brought into practice? What is the reality for women, lesbians and gays in left-wing movements?

Otherwise a coarse division in:

- * **the patriarchal system today**
- for a better understanding of it
- * **and the struggles against it**
- to develop them and ourselves

The analysis of patriarchal system should have a use for our present situation. We don't want theoretical arguing about what has been existing first.: Patriarchy or capitalism

Present proposals for probable starting-points:

Patriarchy and

-500 years of colonialism:

Economy's and patriarchal system's development is interacting. The present economic world system has a 500 years old history. Therein patriarchal system has developed to its specific present shape and function.

-Racism and capitalism (Tripple oppression):

What is the relationship between the several suppression systems? Is it



possible/usefull/permisible to discuss them in a common generic context of hierarchy and dominion culture?

-social organisation:

What will be the effects of nuclear family's increasing dissolving and in which extend is it a constituting part of patriarchal system? What is the role of heterosexism?

-technological development:

What kinds of effects will have e.g. gen-technology, technology of intensive-medical pregnancy...now and in the future?

-different (historical) societies:

Comparisons might be useful to get a more detailed understanding of present situation (and perhaps to make more clear and conscious about other possibilities)

In present situation the struggles against patriarchal system have a different character for women, for gays, for lesbians and for men. This has an expression in the following composition of different starts for discussions on this topic:

-Women's liberation and mixed-sex organizing

-Men's discussions (and struggles?)

-Gays and lesbians in militant Left

-Bourgeoise and revolutionary Feminism

-Feminist organizing

(We are aware of that in a mixed-sex 'project' some discussions, e.g. the last point "feminist organizing" cannot be discussed very profound because they are intended only for those directly concerned.)

Partly this will be like reports from different worlds. But we want to keep in our heads that we have to develop a common perspective for liberation. This means that differences and contradictions have to be respected and discussed as well as separated organizing in antipatriarchal struggle is an obvious consequence of the real breaks and clefts in our reality concerning daily life and struggle.

Deadline: Contributions to this main topic have to arrive 'till mid of November '93.

7

The *main topic of no. 11* will deal with

ECONOMY.

Key words are: capitalist crisis, toyotism, ware- society

We will present this more precisely in our next issue (To discuss 3 main topic at once was a job we couldn't manage)

Area Crítica

Aqui seguimos
We will carry on

Repression against the spanish newspaper Area Crítica

The newspaper "Area Crítica" is published every two months. Editor is the APIOD - Association (Association to Support Objective Information). "Area Crítica" is one of the very few Spanish newspapers, which publishes debates concerning perspectives and strategies on revolutionary policy. Informing about the situation of the prisoners of ETA, GRAPO, PCE(r) and other political prisoners, the paper is also a mouthpiece for them. Naturally the Spanish State is not very pleased about this and therefore tries to stop the work of "Area Crítica".

On the 3rd of November, 1992, the editor-in-chief, Victor Diéguez returned from a journey. For two months he had made contacts with the militants of the PCE(r) to interview their General Secretary. Finally he met Manuel Perez Martinez (Camarada Arenas) and other illegal militants of the PCE(r) in Paris. Three days later he went back to Spain, carrying with him the interview, photos and letters from the

militants to their families in Spain. He also had some money for a new edition of two books written by the prisoners, "History of PCE(r) and GRAPO" and "Chronicle of Herrera de La Mancha". At the border, in Irun, he was controlled and his luggage searched. Finding the material about the PCE(r), the Guardia confiscated everything. Victor Diéguez was arrested and taken to Carabanchel-Jail. His flat was searched, 350.000 pesetas were confiscated. They also raided the editorial office of "Area Crítica" where they confiscated money, all material for the November/December-edition and many other things. As the cops said, the newspaper would not be published without Victor and that "Area Crítica" was sponsored with money

of dark origin".

On the 23rd of December, Victor was released on bail. He was obliged to register with the Audiencia Nacional every two weeks in Madrid. Until now neither the material nor the money were given back, which causes financial problems for the newspaper. Though the paper does not pay any wages and gets a lot of volunteer support, there are about 15 Mio. Pesetas missing (100 Pesetas = about \$ 0.85). In the last edition there is a call for donations, to build up committees of support and to subscribe for the paper...

Here is the adress:

AREA CRITICA
Apdo. de correos 7.031
48004 Bilbao
Tlfn/Fax: (94) 41 69 471.

We are in solidarity with "Area Crítica"!

Up with the independence of information against the state attack

Bad Attitude

Bad Attitude is a new, bi-monthly radical women's newspaper. It is being published in London, but it contains news, stories, backgrounds and letters from all over the world.

The range of subjects is impressive: from women in the Intifadah to safer sex for lesbians, from discussions about male leftist parties to protests against strip-searching of Irish women in British jails, and the whole of it mixed with cartoons, recipes (yes!!!!) and FUN!!!!

On the whole, this is the newspaper the modern (or old-fashioned) radical woman cannot live without, or at least cannot keep up smalltalk in the local women's bar without.... Highly recommended!!!

Subscription rates vary, according to where you live and how much money you have, so you'd better ask them yourselves.

And, they also always need lots of help in the form of money, articles, cartoons, photos, translations and so on.



Bad Attitude can be reached at
121 Railton Road,
London SE24 OLR
And sometimes by telephone:
Britain/071 978 9057

RebelleS IN NEED !

"Rebelles" is published in Paris and is a French monthly review.

"Rebelles" reports about prisoners' struggles in France, about detention conditions, jails, scandals,...and often it also has international reports.

In France, "Rebelles" is an important communication means among the prisoners and also for their families and friends. Further it is an information source for lawyers and the public.

But since winter 92/93 "Rebelles" has been in big financial need. That means that it cannot be published any longer if there is no change of financial situation!

You can help "Rebelles" with your subscribing (and hopefully not forgetting to pay) or giving a donation.

Transfers please to the following account:

APEL (alliance des prisonniers en lutte)
CCP n° 24 711 73 N Paris

and please note whether the money is paid as donation or subscription or resubscription.

ON SE PRÉPARE À L'ASSAUT...



A DOUAI, LA COLERE

SpinnenNetz

Mainz/Wiesbaden

Since the beginning of the year 1991, SpinnenNetz is on line, operating as a news service and since June 1991 as a cross point for the European Counter Network (ECN) in the FRG. Nevertheless, the idea of SpinnenNetz was born before and changed its character in the meantime. From the start, founding a press agency for spreading censured news today became a inter/national network of political groups, organisations, partial movements.

Why SpinnenNetz?

On the one hand side we try to give an opportunity to small, regional and hardly financed medias to break through their isolation. Not each one of them is to organize their own international network, but needs partial connections, to be used from time to time or concerning certain issues, we do the work of a crosspoint between sources of information, political movements, networks and independant medias.

On the other hand we try to promote news, which can help on our discussions about left wing revolutionary movements.

So we have founded SpinnenNetz in order to open the gate to uncensored, authentical information continuously, fast and as cheap as possible

- in different countries, regions, cities
- for smaller and bigger Mediaprojects (such as free radios, independant newsmagazines)
- for infoshops, archives, networks, infotelephones
- for political structures, groups and organisations, which work on certain issues.

A continuously working infostructure is one of the necessities for instance to find joint political answers against the cooperation between policeforces, justice, military forces and fascists in Europe.

Networking by Data Communication

1. By the possibility of a sudden transmission of news into many different cities and countries, the opportunity to act and react on political events became more evident and effective. Some of the examples of this work by SpinnenNetz are the campaigns for the freedom of political prisoners in the USA ("freedom now") or Greece ("politechnio", Athens 1991), our informative try to break the international news blockade concerning the second gulf war by publishing the "anti-war-info" containing lots of information directly from the war zone or the world wide resistance against the war (partially also via radio) and the foundation of the ECN in 1991, together with other groups from Holland and Italy, to from a infoexchange on european level. This European Network

for antagonistic news today works together with groups from the USA, Canada, Palestine, Kurdistan and different other european countries, which became connected in the meantime. SpinnenNetz cooperates with infoshops, antifascist antiracist structures, free radios and newspaper/magazine projects.

2. Discussion leaflets can be published via the network and suddenly reach many different cities apart from the private connections. We do not want to transmit discussion leaflets made by single persons, because we start from the principle, that political processes proceed from collective discussion and action. If we could develop discussions apart from country or city borders, the political pressure, which we are able to produce, would become much stronger than it is today.

3. Data Communication does not compensate personal communication, but is able to support such, if comrades cannot see each other because of long distance or little time and money, but wish to be informed continuously in the meantime.

4. A mailboxsystem represents the possibility to arrange information in a certain manner, related to political issues, targets or structures. Groups which work with SpinnenNetz thereby can everytime transmit information to the system or download from it in a very distinct mode.

Main issues are today:

- antiracism, refugee-politics
- antifascist struggle
- restructurization, squatting, social centres etc.
- internationalism
- prisoners
- women/lesbian struggle
- antimilitarism
- social struggles/movements
- ...

The different levels of SpinnenNetz and ECN

The network operates on three different levels:

1. Regional structures transmit news from and to the crosspoints.
2. The crosspoints are connected via a national mailboxsystem and are responsible for certain international contacts to other organisations or networks.
3. The interantional newsexchange is coordinated through the ECN-structure.

SpinnenNetz Berlin for instance receives ECN-news from a computernetwork from Holland and Mainz/Wiesbaden from Italy. The dutch systemoperators from either newsdesk Amstardam or aps-Amsterdam get their informations from the U.S. (NLNS-network), Belgium and England, the Italian network from Autonomia Operaia receives informations from Palestine, Northern-Ireland and France, SpinnenNetz-groups from Denmark (ECN), Italy ("controinformazione internazionale"), Greece ("Anarchists for social and class war", ABC Athens), Kurdistan (Turkey/Iraq), Turkey, USA8 Black Panther News Service, MLN, Arm the Spirit), Canada (Prison News Service) and South- and Central America (POONAL / Mexico, Radio Venceremos / El Salvador, Radio Panamericana / Uruguay)

Each crosspoint simultaneously is part of a regional infoexchange. Those Infos from the ECN and other structures f.e. are given from Mainz/Wiesbaden to Marburg, Gießen, Frankfurt, Offenbach, Darmstadt, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Heidelberg and Ludwigshafen. In every city different groups are receiving, producing and working on the SpinnenNetz-Information and sending news back to the crosspoint.

The SpinnenNetz crosspoints exchange their data via mailboxes, usually when it is needed and in future in an overnight mailer-operation. Those crosspoints have been founded so far in Mainz/wiesbaden, Berlin, Bonn, Göttingen, but SpinnenNetz is still in discussion with groups from other cities such as Hamburg. Furthermore comrades from Sweden, Norway, Switzreland, Austria and Euskadi want to become connected to the ECN-structure (April 1993).

Concept SpinnenNetz

1. Experience with other networks proved, that open networks one day become unintelligible, because lots of junk-information is sent to a mailbox causing the situation, that information is of no use because of the obscurity of its source. It can't be satisfying protecting a network by only technical means, it is for our own political work and safety to have an interset in working with news and data of clear source. There exists for shure the possibility to construct certain userstructures within existing networks, but our political concept is different: The technical (Spinnen)net is a possibility to create a continuing political work between the SpinnenNetz / ECN-groups. The three levels of the SpinnenNetz-organism are held as personal as possible in order to make infoexchange work on a basis of instructive trust. It is not our main issue to build as fast as possible an european-wide Data-exchange-project, but

consequently develop our politics in a collective way. The technical equipment and structure is no more than a remedy, meanwhile the essential discussions and actions are formed by personal meetings and cooperation. We also believe in the need for an own way working and developing our own technics. This does practically not mean a concurrence or decline of other networks, but the realization of a different political concept.

2. This way of dataexchange is relatively (to the amount of information transmitted) cheap. Many regional working groups do only have to make local calls to become connected to the next crosspoint. The national crosspoints are connected via mailer and exchange news frequently.
3. Repression can't easily target one of the crosspoints, because the deficiency of one of them can be replaced by the remaining structure. The expense to destroy such a structure will be quite high, the try to criminalize it, will mobilize a wide range resistance throughout the different political movements, organisations and groups, working with and inside SpinnenNetz. Structures like SpinnenNetz or ECN can only be protected politically and technically in a very limited way.
4. The work on three different levels includes using other technical means than computer. Small, regional working groups, wich often miss enough money to finance themselves a computer, can transmit their news still via telephone and mail or as well fax, if existing. Thereby allready operating structures can be used and connected with SpinnenNetz or ECN. We don't have to build any parallelstructure or new networks.
5. A clearly structurized network enables us to discuss on the basis of exact knowledge about the background and political situation or reality of comrades in other places and verify cooperation by joint action. Information for us is never selfsufficient. Information produces consequences. New medias should not dominate our politics, but play their part in making us act; Organisation and coordination do not automatically grow out of information, therefore communication is one of the suppositions.

SpinnenNetz and organisation

Meanwhile many discussions began in different places abot the issue of organizing the revolutionary left. One of the issues of SpinnenNetz Mainz/Wiesbaden is to support these discussions between comrades in different cities, countries. Synchronously we do realize our work as one step towards organisation and the certain discussions and do relate not only on the antifascist organisation of the Antifaschistische Aktion/Bundesorganisation or the structure of infoshops, but in perspective of the whole revolutionary left in the FRG. It is no more question why and when, but where and how we become organized. We have had enough experience with the revolutionary of the last years to know, hwo isolated in society and desolate in our own structures we are yet. Organisation should create one of the presuppositions for a continuing and coordinated praxis, to become based again on the real living conditions in society. We do believe, that only an representative organism with a federal liable

framework makes it possible for other groups to address their discussions on revolutionary left winged positions and relate to them. As SpinnenNetz Mainz/Wiesbaden we do support different ways of organisation, such as the antifascist action/federal organisation, the infoshops, the coordination office for political prisoners a.o., because different concepts should be realized practically separate, but exchange experience and cooperate with each other. SpinnenNetz wants to support this mutual effect.

New Order

Since the reduction of the political blocks and a dislocation of power in the world a new orientation of left winged politics seems to be unavoidable. To find new points of departure for an internationalistic policy has become the basis for our political survival. Only organized structures can guarantee the liability for that. To work on this internationalistic issue does neither mean to present ready made solutions nor simply outlaw the idea of a revolutionary struggle as empty talk. This is only possible by basing our politics in the different fractions of the FRG-Society and concretely begin to create a coordinated public relations work, which relies on our own structures like offices, communication, culture, medias etc. Theoretical and practical beginnings are the Antifa-Organisations, the discussion of F.E.L.S. in Arranca from Berlin, The Coordination for the political Prisoners and the Infoshop-meetings.

Computers are stupid

Although computers have many advantages for our work, each and everyone who uses them, should have an opinion about their character and disadvantages concerning our work and deal with them. Computer do not replace political structures.

We do work with computer, because we feel, that we can use them for our political work and want to make certain experience. There are many new experiences growing, being confronted with computer, which means that we are ought to reflect its sense or nonsense simultaneously to our work. The computerization of our political work conceal as well useful as useless aspects.

Dangerous for example is the disinformation about elementary structures of computerwork. Although most of the data on discettes or mainboard are harmless; Who works with computer should know when data is really wiped out, safe against hacking or simply reproduceable.

Senseless for example is the -technically optional- accumulation of more and more "information", which, often produced unkindly, vanishes in electronic drawers, because of a lack of relation to any consequence or action. Because of that we have to discuss also the questions of network and dataexchange with regard to the contents and not only the technics.

Texts which are written in ASCII-Code, miss furthermore a personal expression of creativity and thereby cannot displace leaflets or personal talks for communication. ASCII-texts transport the pure information and show to us the narrow frame of expressive means of computers.

Not only the network of political groups and organisations but also the discussion, information and exchange about political concepts must relate to our political reality

and work and show the way to their issues (f.e. organisation, main issues concerning themes or countries, cooperation with international structures). That means that the discussion about constructing an international computernetwork simultaneously represents the discussion about our authentic political targets/perspectives.

The consequence of information

Information itself does not make any sense, if it does not develop any consequence and structures, which strengthen our activities. This means vice versa: The information itself must already lay bare the way to act politically. We don't want to reproduce the bourgeois journalism through SpinnenNetz, which only produces information for consumption as a supplement of visual impressions. Information must have a consequence and that's why at the beginning of the SpinnenNetz work stands the information about actual events, mobilisations a.s.o. SpinnenNetz has been active for instance during the event in Rostock, Mannheim-Schönau (fascists and citizens attacked refugees homes) or the Economic Summit in Munich or the fascist murder of the comrade Silvio Meyer in Berlin and the antifascist mobilisations in accession. Secondly we want to promote the exchange of ideas about long-term perspectives and actions like discussion leaflets, background info, theoretical works and political/practical education. This part is to our sorrow not enough represented in the present mailbox contents.

Editorial work and textstructures

How can information/texts look like?

Example for a political event in a city, f.e. squatting of a house.

1. Story of politics and practices of a group. How was it formed originally?
2. Situation of start(in a city/region), political and tactical concept of the action, expectations.
3. The event itself: What happened, where and when, what did not happen, actual information to the set, have the expectations been fulfilled or not?
4. How to react? Own activities, expectation to the audience.
5. Consequences of the following discussions. Did something happen in accession?
6. Transmission of practical knowledge for other comrades?
7. Perspective for future actions.

Computers only make sense, if they increase the quality of our information (f.e. for editorial work of newsmagazines, radios etc.) and help working. Our demand has always been, that any action should explain itself. But the technical simplicity of transmission of information to many readers is not the same as the clearness of its content. This is, what we ignored many times in dealing with the bourgeois medias: The advantage of computerized media-network is not the mass of readers/audience. We want to create a structure, which puts information into a certain context, a framework of information, that makes news valuable from our political point of view. Beginning from this point, it will be possible for us to organize politics at the place, where we live, in a wider frame of understanding.

Compter and Groupstructure

Still we haven't thought enough about the social changes within computerwork, concerning our own structures, apart from hired labour. Every group has to decide on its own, how hierarchies can be avoided by technical and political education within its structures. Not everyone must be able to cope with everything, but hierarchies are often a question of a lack of transparent explanation or discussion inside a group. However, in a group, which works with computers, allways more than one oerson should be able to handle the technical equipment in case of missing someone. The decision, if a group works with computer has to be taken by all members as well as vereyone should be responsible for its realisation.

SpinnenNetz will be hwo we want it to be. It can only function, if many political groups and collectives take part in its structure. So: at all events, which happen in your cities/regions make a selection of what can be intersetting for a national or international audience and send these informations to us. All Information, which should be published via ECN must be written in english, there is no more time to translate any text. Send your info on discettes in ASCII-Code!!! either per mail or directly through any organism, which is connected to the SpinnenNetz/ECN-structure.

Short technical advice for using SpinnenNetz

First of all an indication: Also the technical equipment we use produces problems, wiich means, try again, if it does not work at once. The datacommunication is at the one hand side dependant on the capacity of your and our technical equipment (2400 Baud-modem) and the quality of the telephone connection. Most of the problems can be

solved via letter, telephone or meeting with us. Since February 1992 we run a mailbox 24 hours a day. Everybody who has a modem can theoretically get an access to the mailbox. Others can also ask for information via telephone or mail or fax:

Verein zur Förderung politischer Kultur durch Kommunikation e.V.

Werderstraße 8

W-6200 Wiesbaden.

Telephone: +49-611-440887

Telefax: +49-611-9490751

Mailbox: +49-611-9490749.

And now to everyone, who wants to up- or download textfiles. Please become connected to us because of up-load of textfiles. For download first fill in the questioning paper at the beginning of the mailbox-access, then we will talk to you and give you a certain access. If you have any advice or idea of technical importance, please contact us, we call back.

It is quite clear to us, that our mailboxstructure does not deliver the amount of information or service, common to other networks. This is one of the reason, why you don't pay any user-dues in the moment, another reason is the administrational work on a abo-structure, which has no relation to its real use for us. But: Nevertheless, we do need money and your support. We think that also this money promotes a better SpinnenNetz-structure, at least for your use in future.

Contributions are payed to the:

Verein zur Förderung politischer Kultur durch Kommunikation e.V.,

Wiesbadener Volksbank,

BLZ 51090000, Kto.No.:185367.06

SpinnenNetz Mainz/Wiesbaden in May 1993

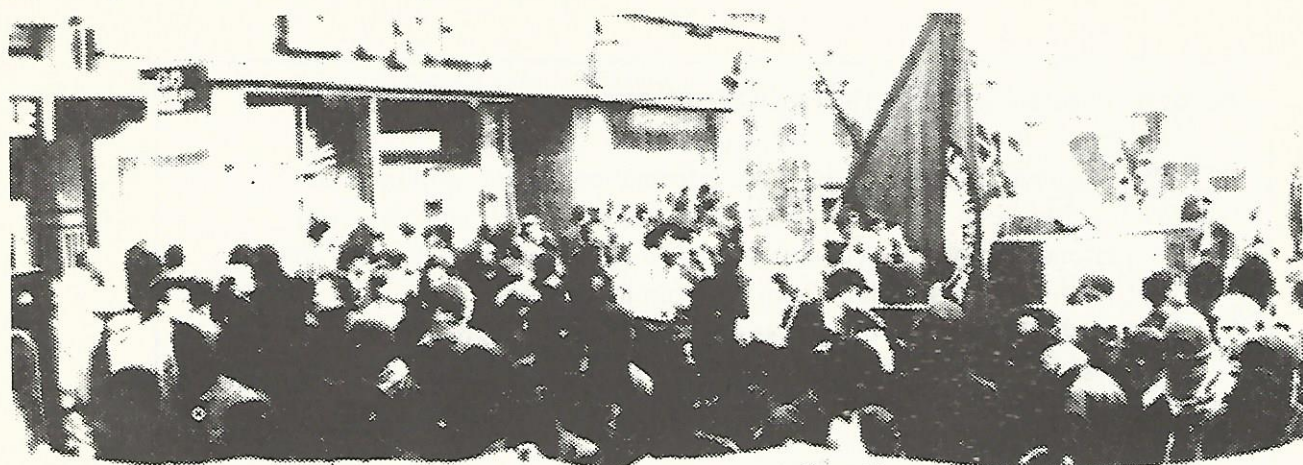
Informations / Membership / Donations

- * I / My group would like to have more informations about SpinnenNetz
- * I / We would like to work with you, we would like to tell you about our experiences in our project and we would like to have a date with you (officetimes: Wednesdays from 6 pm to 7.30 pm)
- * I / We would like to have the adress of the SpinnenNetz group which is nearest to my / our city / country
- * I / We want to become member in the SpinnenNetz "club" as:
 - * Single person
 - * Unemployed single person
 - * Group / organisation
- * I / We would like to have more information about the membership in the SpinnenNetz Club *
- * I / We want to donate _____ DM, \$ (or whatever) monthly for SpinnenNetz
- * I / We want to donate once _____ Dm, \$... For SpinnenNetz and have put this money on the account (number above)
 - * Only for women, men, groups, organisations which we know personally

with Activists of the **Antifascist Action Federal Organization in Germany**



One of various discussions that have been going on in Germany over the last two years is a discussion about an organizational model. This model is trying to draw on the experiences and learn the lessons from the Autonomen movement and to build a nationwide (federal) structure. The Antifascist Action / Federal Organisation (AA/FO) is the beginnings of an organization, which has arisen from discussions going on in various autonomen, antifascist groups. The AA/FO is now taking practical steps and has gone public. The individual member groups of the AA/FO from the various towns and regions in Germany form the basis of the structure. The idea is that the regional structures will send delegates to the federal meetings, where the level of organization allows it. However, in this initial phase, almost all delegates are sent by the individual town groups to the federal meetings. The main emphasis in the decision-making process, building political structures, the basis for organization and practice is decentralized, i.e: in the towns and regions. The national meetings guarantee the contact, the exchange of ideas and experiences gained in the building work and the cooperation between the various groups and projects. The long term goal is to be able to make decisions and campaign on a national level. We conducted this interview with a female and male comrade, whose group is part of the AA/FO. Since it is also a principle of the AA/FO that the groups are responsible for their locality or region, they do not speak as representatives of the AA/FO, but for themselves. A state has not yet been reached, whereby the individual groups are in a position to represent the entire organization. We have given the comrades the names Anna and Arthur.



CLASH: Why do you personally take part in this project? It is really a long process, which you have engaged upon. Why do you think that an organization is necessary?

ARTHUR: I have been working in political groupings since the mid-eighties. I became politically active in the last years of the Startbahn (Airport Runway) years (*1). I have been active in many groups and initiatives since then. I think that my experiences collected in those years are nothing new to many comrades here in Germany: Groups, that fell apart again once the campaigns were over, a lack of commitment, cycle politics, and just with a gut feeling. In view of this kind of structure, it is no wonder that whole movements such as the runway movement could just disappear after a wave of state repression (in 1987 after the shootings). The anti-authoritarian history of the radical left in Germany since 68 has now reached a point, where we have to stand back and take a look at where we are. That does not mean, we should now dig up the old authoritarian structures, but neither can we hang around our infoshop, find our old structures great and wait for better times. The last 3 years in the aftermath of the re-unification of Germany have shown, that we are not able to put up anything against the reactionary wave that has flooded over everyone. That is not just a matter of the pigs being so strong. That is why I found the Goettingen paper at the time to be a correct and courageous step forward. At the same time, the Heinz Schenk debate was going on in Berlin too. That I found no coincidence, rather it was clear that we have to change our structures. It is also clear that is a jump into cold water. However, I think it is quite understandable that the people who are making that jump now (all of them from autonomen groupings) do not want to copy the politics of the K-groups or to build a new Socialist Unity Party (former ruling party in the German Democratic Republic), or any of the other crap that I have heard. I feel sorry for comrades, who only can think of cadre party, when they hear the word organization. It is about creating a framework to be able to bring together the experiences, commitments and political strategies and analyze them,

so that we can develop strategies and an ability to take action based on them. A political base, that is "only" derived from trust can work perhaps in your group and I find it correct at that level. However, at any level beyond the group, it is not enough. Almost everybody says today that organization would be important; this decision alone is not enough or as a comrade wrote recently from a prison cell: It has to move forward and not just like you feel like!

CLASH: The decision alone to organize yourself is not enough as you have said. What is still missing in your opinion? What do you want to say by that?

ARTHUR: What I mean is, a concrete concept how the organization should look, because that is just what has remained stuck in a rut for years. And also a debate, which moves forward, where you can see that something has really changed. The whole thing with organization has always been stuck in the mud, when it came to coordination. Sure people got together and talked about how things were in their town, and they were really happy when they found, wow, my god, look we are all about the same, we could really do something together here. Yes, but I think that a workable structure never came of it all. Then, there is also that about an organization, which I think has to go beyond an internal matter for the scene, or the people who do something anyway here, but more of a porthole to the outside, well how do I say it (my question! - the translator)? A sort of homogenous transparency. Whenever we did anything, it does not matter in which area, or at what time, for the people it was always a case of the left autonomen group XYZ, a few left-wingers or Autonomen have done this and that. It was never something you could grasp, just something diffusely left. Another part is also the simple fact that the continual work and responsibility in the group was borne by just a few people, who often enough were broken by that experience and dropped out sooner or later, because they simply could not do it anymore. This is a road, that I don't want to travel any longer.

ANNA: I was in the Youth AntiFa and an awful lot of people came to us, but then you stood there with all those

people and asked yourself, great but what now? Then nothing happened and the people were gone again. The idea was missing and you had nothing to offer them. The people came from the surrounding villages and you thought well what do you want to give them to take back? "Well, if you want to do something, then hitch your way here every day for half hour and then you can do something..." I did not view the idea of organization and the papers (*3) with any sepsis, on the contrary it made sense. I read about it and could see it working. I just thought that regional structures were necessary, because small groups of three or four people were always coming from somewhere looking for help and advice, and then to have clear answers to the questions "who are you, what do you do?" And of course that there is something universal, (an organization) everywhere. All those papers sound somewhat hardline, because they are fairly straight. But for me they never sounded like that, because for now they are not yet filled with any substance. But that is what it is about. First we need a framework, and that can sound as straight as whatever, but in practice it is usually going to be softer and more flexible. And when I imagine a practice, that is to say the filling, in our town, then I can imagine something really good. If you invest work in town and regional structures, then that can give the town a real impetus, also to do something with other towns, so that you can take action very well within the framework of this organization. Even though I have not been active for that long, I have got to know scene structures that are to some extent lacking commitment. Sometimes I think that everything around us is developing politically much faster, society seems to be running and running and running away in its development; and we don't seem able to catch up, because there are so many difficulties with talking and with the commitment or so, and that we are not able to get into a position to take action or to build something for ourselves and others, from where we could also then go out. No we seem to be just chasing after things, breathless. And for me the organization model is an opportunity for us to build a structure, from where

we could start to again really take the initiative, to do our own things again, yes and to be our own factor and not just as a reaction and Anti-Nazi-whatever-group, which chases around and throws a few leaflets at the masses. That is why I am a part of this organization. That was not a case of deep thought. I read about it and found it just made sense and was needed.

ARTHUR: What

Anna just said there, I find important too. It never really was a problem to mobilize people, demos, actions, Antifa-cafe... people came, above all a lot of young people. There they all were and that is where the problem really began, what were we to do with those people. We could in the Antifa-cafe, well, we could give them a cup of coffee. And we could fill their ears with stuff, or if we were really lucky, we could even give them a leaflet for our demo next week. And that led to insecurity on our part. That was something we noticed a lot of times. People were there and we did

not know what to do next. That is a really unpleasant situation. You know, there were many new people and the others who had been there for some time already, they sat somewhere in a corner and did not want to or did not feel up to going over to them, because they found it embarrassing "well, great that you are here now" .. and that was it, right?

CLASH: I think too, that is a positive argument for an organization, that a clear structure would facilitate self-initiative, independence and relating to one another. To counterpoise that to the negative hierarchical picture of organization.

ANNA: Sure, that's right. Providing the organization is regarding as being universal in the sense of being a network

and not in the sense of being a hierarchy. However, the main thing is your own town, your own region. And that is something I find good about the idea. That is quite clear, that your work or how you agitate politically is always orientated on the situation as it is in your own town. That is clearly the area where you concentrate on. And so I understand this organization model as



being an opening out to citizens, school pupils, etc.

ARTHUR: I also think, that most people who are open to our activities, who find something in our politics or whatever, have already made the decision to become politically active. However, we could only integrate those people who were willing to accept a scene-lifestyle and found it good for them. Other people, for example older people, who led a different life, could not be accepted or integrated, they dropped out/were dropped. Today I see that we lost an awful lot of people that way.

CLASH: You were both already in Antifa-groups, before the AA/FO started up. Can you already tell us today, what has changed through

the AA/FO in your town?

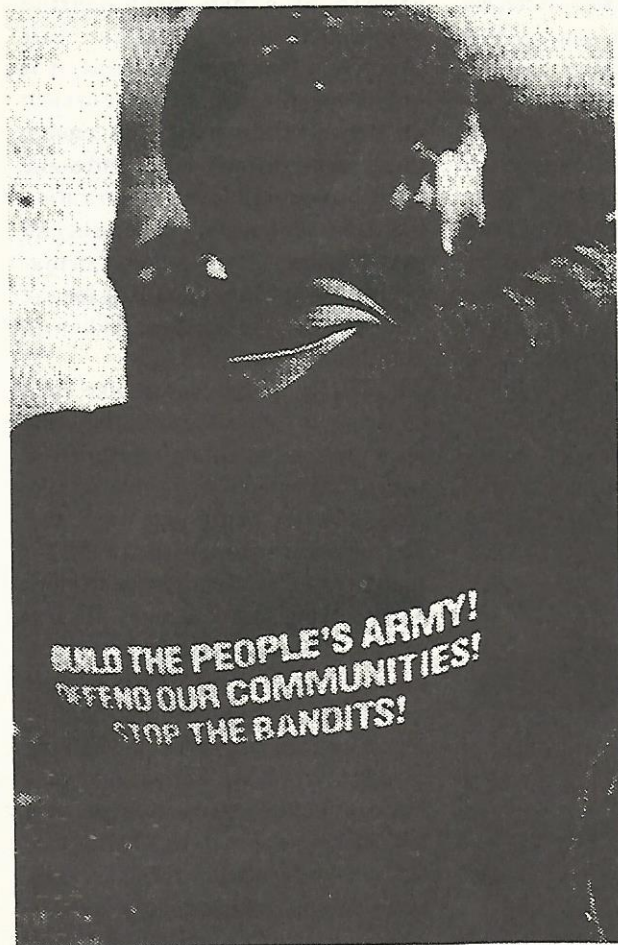
ARTHUR: At the moment, it is just a lot of ideas, and they have only partly been put into practice as yet. We are trying now to put our publicity work on a new footing and to give it a different priority. For example, we have got a really good book-stall. Up till now we have only been at concerts or scene meetings with our stall, and only people came by, who already knew all the stuff we had. Now we try to set up a regular book-stall in the pedestrian area of the city center. Another point is that we want to have a different relationship with the media. That we don't shout at every journalist standing at the edge of demos, "Camera man - ass hole!" (*4), but also have in mind that could also be something for us. We are trying to make contacts with the press for all kinds of activities, whether it be a public meeting, an agitprop action, whatever, and to use these contacts for us as much as possible.

CLASH: We know, that the organization of the anti-fascist struggle, should also have an anti-imperialist direction with a counter-perspective to the capitalist system. We have no idea, how you can go on from the organization idea to a political unity based on content. As we understand it, you are all very different politically, being anti-imperialist, anti-state and anti-patriarchat is very broad and general to serve as a basis for the AA/FO; each of us can understand something different in such terms. Have you set any limits for yourselves there, or are you working on a sort of program? Do you have concrete concepts as to how you can make a principle, political unification?

ARTHUR: I think, that is a lesser problem, to come to a common analysis of such terms as state, patriarchate or imperialism. It was almost never a problem to analyze the pigs. Our problem was always to relate these analyses with society, with the people who live here and to put them into practice. To put it simply: We always concern ourselves more with the strategies of the pigs, than with the people who we want to come together with. We have founded a working group "Social analysis" now in the AA/FO, which

will concern itself with how all the shit works on the people here, in order to find places where we can start putting our politics into practice. On the other hand we are discussing structures inside the group too. We want to find key areas, which we will divide up amongst us in working groups, which also get their own impetus. Whether that is publicity work, or what I will call "normal" antifa work, knowing your way around, researching fascist structures, or networking, making contacts, building regional structures, etc. Another thing which belongs in there, is the discussion with other groups, who are working on various issues in our town and to discuss the concept of organization with them. We see that as being necessary for us, because we must get out of the antifa corner. A major part of the Manifesto is to move on from the Anti-Nazi Movement, which is for us the most important part. We have seen that in ourselves too, this delegation of workload, which has sometimes led to quite perverse divisions. I see divisions for example in the separation of anti-racism groups and anti-fascist groups, who work quite independently from each other. On the one hand are the anti-racism groups, who take care of the refugees and on the other, the anti-fascist groups who take care of the fascists. That I feel is the crassest expression of the perverse structures here. We had a good example of this in our town. About six months ago, we wrote a leaflet about a part of the town, where refugee shelters had been built, and where these shelters faced some opposition from the locals. We observed that this part of the town could potentially become something like Mannheim-Schönau (*5). And we said that once the racist pogrom starts, you can only go in and crack the racists' heads. Because by then it is really too late, then you can only put yourself in front of the shelters, then you don't need to talk about causes, because then the refugees are your only concern. Full stop. And as that seemed about to happen, that could happen, that was the moment in which we had to intervene. We then wrote a leaflet addressed to all the people living there and had all the classic arguments in it about the housing shortage, etc. And we found that with the structures that

we had, it was quite obvious that we could tell the people about it, but the Antifa groups were not able for example to start community defence work. We could not start actions against real estate agents or squat houses and that is what was needed at this point. You know, that you also have to show people a way forward. That is just one example for me, why it is necessary to move on from the Anti-Nazi Movement. If you really want to get something over to the people, then you also have to show them what you mean, give them something. The way Antifa-structures have been so far, the one thing you can show the foaming Mob is a big stick,



nothing else. And the other groups also got there too late, there are no common, thought out, political strategies. There are many examples for this.

ANNA: There are groups in every town, who work on such issues as houses, centers, the housing shortage, etc. The only thing is, it is all so chopped up. It is important to build connections, because this concept of ours, not to remain stuck on the Anti-Nazi Movement, is not only dependent on us, the other groups are also called

upon. They have to get involved in anti-fascist work and not to remain on those thousands of rails, which run alongside each other with none of the junctions, that are so necessary. It is important, that a broader consciousness is created, that would allow a more central cooperation.

CLASH: So the message of the AA/FO's Manifesto is only to be realized, providing the groupings in the towns are able to open up to each other.

ANNA: Yes, and also has to do with the regional work. The regional work does not mean just setting up Antifa groups everywhere, rather it is also about bringing all the political

groupings in the town together, and that is not just a matter for the Antifa; this means necessarily that we will have to open up to them, and they to us.

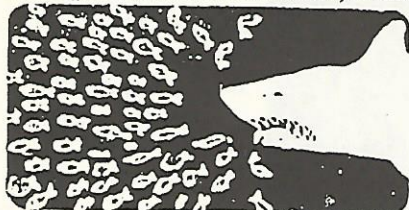
ARTHUR: Well, that is a pre-requisite for our group. I can imagine that it is seen differently in other towns. An organization if it is to be effective, only makes sense to me, if the political groups who are working on other issues are able to join in.

CLASH: For ages, there have been debates in autonomous Antifa groups about "Revolutionary Antifascism" (*6). In the groups themselves and in the regional united front

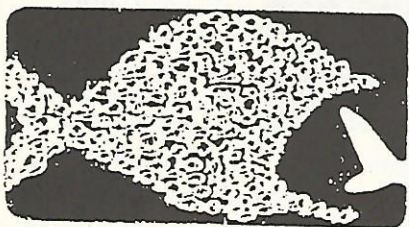
politics, that has always played a role. Do you expect that your organization is going to change the situation? What do you think is going to be different?

ARTHUR: I think that in most of the Antifa groups, that was always a goal that was hardly ever reached. There were the slogans "Behind fascism is capitalism" and they were meant seriously. However, they never found expression in concrete politics. On one hand I think, that the political message

of the actions never really came over. That happened of course too (now and again), but most of the time it did not and that was partly the responsibility of the Antifa people themselves. That is they limited themselves to Anti-Nazi work. On the other hand though, the scene was also responsible. The Antifa people were always criticized for being a horde out for a fight, but the scene also made it too easy for itself. You know, I noticed that when this fascist offensive started here, the left movement was gripped by horror. Then the Left screamed for the Antifa. Then it was clear that the fascists were not a side issue any more, but an existing reality. And after a very short time, we were alone with it again, that was just a flash in the pan. Every day the fascists attacked somewhere and we were left just holding demos in front of burnt-out refugee hostels. I think, the Antifa was really just left out there alone. It was often enough a case of not being able to do anything else anymore. You were always on the road. We made an attempt to make the whole thing broader, that is in practice. Faced with the accusation, that the AntiFas always came along when the fascists were there, like some kind of Autonom-men special unit and took over, so that



★ ALLEIN MACHTEN SIE DICH EIN ! ★



no one else had a chance of learning something out of the confrontation, we drew conclusions. We formed groups, who acted out the practical situations (Fascists in the bar, at the railway station, ...) and tried out what choices for action there are. And how as many people as possible could take part, who did not want to use violence. These groups then became training groups,

who had practiced specifically how men and women could practically cope with the confrontation and what you could do. In our initiatives, we presented something like this for the whole scene, to do it together, to learn together and so on. And there was no interest, verbally sure, but practically it just died sooner or later, nobody came any more.

CLASH: You have shown now, that it is quite a problem, that continual, committed political work is often dependent on personal structures and moreover, remained relatively ineffective. We also think that the growth of a new organization represents a solution for this problem. However, we think it is important, that the structure of such an organization must also enable many people to participate and make decisions, and that the organization has room for learning processes and emancipatory developments, so that people are not functionalized for the sake of effective politics. What do you think about this?

ARTHUR: These people, who were conscious of their responsibility and were prepared to commit themselves, were often as not only a few people. And there are really two ways, that these people can deal with it. I think it is up to just these very people to work on dissolving such structures. That is to say, either these people have a position in the group, discover their ambitions to take power and find the way things are quite good and nothing changes. Or really, these people must work on putting themselves out of a job, making themselves superfluous. Do you know what I mean? Being aware of your responsibility means to make open this responsibility and to share it and not to sit on it. I am not so utopian to believe, that everybody is going to be sitting there on the same terms, with the same responsibility and the same commitments. That has never worked and never will work. And in a certain way, there will always be hierarchies in every structure. I think it depends on how the groups deal with it. Hierarchies are possible, where a trust exists and then hierarchies are o.k. despite everything. There are questions here, where we in the FO will have to

think very carefully. The way the structure looks at the moment, it is a collective structure with no cadre and also no people, who say which way we go or whatever. Naturally when the FO is a success sooner or later, let's say that our idea gives us a push forwards, perhaps we will arrive sometime at a point where a nationwide meeting of delegates is no longer effective for our work. Perhaps the FO is required sometime to issue a press statement or react in some other form and it is not possible to wait two months until the next national meeting to make the decision. Perhaps some time, it is going to be necessary to have structures only involving a few people, or perhaps we will have an office, that stands for the entire FO. And who are the people going to be, who are in that office?

CLASH: ...And how do the others deal with their situation?

ARTHUR: Yes, those are the kind of discussions, that lie before us. Really I cannot say too much at this point. I think, that these are also decisive points, but only time will show.

CLASH: An essential reason for the collapse, the splits and divisions in the Autonom organization are also the lacking and refused debates about sexist and patriarchal conditions of violence inside the revolutionary Left. And the inability, to cope with the contradictions that erupted, when confronted with the radical women and lesbian organization. We see this experience as being one of several central pillars of our revolutionary politics and history. What is their influence on the discussions going on about the development of the AA/FO and what significance do they have for you?

ARTHUR: The answer, we must give in pieces. Firstly, in general terms: One point is that the Antifa groups have always been male-dominated and are still male dominated. I think though that the structures that we have in mind for our Antifa work, are such and it has been said very plainly, that Antifa politics can no longer be a "playground for heroes." What we understand under Antifa politics and how we want to do something, leaves no room anymore for those who only come with feelings of hatred. And that we had often enough, just wanting to hit the

fascists in the gob. No, that is not all. Another point is that we hope, that the excessive imbalance of having too many men, which resulted from this attitude, will be corrected.

CLASH: How do you imagine these structures?

ARTHUR: Work, that Antifa is more that beating up fascists. That quite simply there are many points for us to concentrate on. That does not mean that if we do publicity work, etc, for example a stall in the town center, that at last the women can also take part in Antifa work. That is not what I mean!! I know at least from the towns where the FO is most developed, that there are more women active than men. We still have a crass imbalance of too many men. I find in discussions, which I have personally, that there are more and more women, who want to take part and who start quite different discussions and see much more. That is not an answer to your question but perhaps a part of it.

ANNA: I think one point, why it happened the way it did, was because the entire patriarchy discussions were not taken seriously enough. If they had been taken seriously and their importance recognized, then it would have been quite logical, that it is a quite normal and self-explanatory part of our work. If we can talk to people about anti-racism, then why not about anti-sexism? Then there is the question "How do you achieve this? How does it become a normal part of your work?" If you can talk to people about anti-fascism and anti-racism, then why not about anti-sexism? Then comes the question, "how do you do all that, how do you make it into normal practice?" Perhaps you need a practical part in such discussions, because it is true to say that the result has often been that at the end of a long list of demands on leaflets, against this, against that, against the other and then against the Patriarchat or against Sexism. For me that is however, more of a matter for the men to take more seriously. That means to take the discussions more seriously and to take themselves more seriously, because that is what is all too often lacking. If you criticize some shit or other, that is going on, "now just look at the way you lot are acting again...", or this and that is missing in

a leaflet, now let us talk about it, for example violence against women, then often you hear things like "oh no, here we go again." And that is a very difficult question, that we have not found any answers to yet for ourselves; and I think that as yet, it has not been talked about, at least only in so far as having a demand (against Sexism). And of course in individual discussions, there are a lot of different experiences that clash here. Some discussions are



really scientific and distanced. At the end of such discussions you have defined the patriarchy like you do for imperialism, but nothing comes of it, it is not integrated into the general analysis of society.

ARTHUR: I heard a lot of discussions at the end of the Eighties, when the women publicized a lot on this subject in the Left media. Quite often this discussion was fairly theoretical, scientific. However not a lot has stuck, moreover we have seen a retreat. The discussions were brought into all groups, including the Antifa. There were a lot of papers about the Patriarchy, really scientific things, and we studied them and read them. At the end we could then say, well that really is bad. We could explain what the patriarchy is, perhaps even with examples from the Scene, but that was all that happened. Here and there we saw "men groups" being formed. There were then often verbal self-whipping sessions - I don't want to tarbrush all

men groups - about what a pig you really are, but in reality not much changed. Rather taboos were set up. You know, that you can not say this or that, but there were no real conflicts, or at least only rarely did the men form a real consciousness.

CLASH: Yes, that is right. You can see that now, where the pressure from the women is off. What have the men just learned or what have they really made a part of themselves? And when you say there have been set backs, then that has something to do with their not making this into something of their own.

ANNA: That is just it, exactly what I meant, this is a matter for the men. If we are to agitate outside the groups, then I don't want to do the men's work for them, I want to do it with the women, that is quite clear. This work has to be done inside the groups too, the men for themselves; how can these politics work outside, how can it become an everyday part of us, the practice is still non-existent. To recognize the importance of this for the men themselves and not just to get on with the women - not just because you do not want to be an ass-hole, there is still a long way to go until we reach this point. This entire escalation, all the racist attacks, also applies to the violence against women, which has always been there. This violence has also escalated in an incredible way lately. That must be incorporated into our politics, if we say social analysis, if we want to become a factor either in our town or as a federal organization, then we need to intervene on such issues. If, for example, we approach gangs of youths, and that is happening in many towns, then this way of thinking is often dropped, even though it is on this issue that there are many problems.

ARTHUR: That is also a question, which often as not leaves me standing swamped by the size of the problem. If I take a look outside of the Scene, that is outside of the Autonomen Scene, then I often think "Oh God"....; Take for example our really crass experiences with gangs. The fascists were downtown, we Autonomen were too few to attack them. A turkish gang of youths came by and they found the idea great, they wanted to help. That was really just a technical affair, we will

now do something together. There was also a bit of revolutionary romanticism, we and the "foreign kids together" - smirks and grins. That was really straightforward, we would beat them up, that was until the turkish kids started talking crap: "There are some women with them (the fascists), you can have them." As war booty, so to speak. Then you are really stumped, really you should just smack them in the gob for such stuff, or at least some verbiage like "That is not what we want, get lost!!" On the other hand there is the possibility to push the fascists (males and females) out.

CLASH: That is the question, what do you do in such a situation???

ARTHUR: In such a case, we just gulped and decided for the latter. Ok, so what you learn from it, is that you have to talk to these people. But that is one heap of work. The stuff, that goes on in our scene is laughable in comparison. That would not be a discussion, such as we know on the same subject.

ANNA: But, exactly there, in this kind of situation, that is where it is important to start such discussions. It does not matter how, but you have to gain experience. Ok, that is a totally different Scene, that is not like ours, it is not that easy. If you agitate on the outside, then you have to be more realistic, find out what can be done first, what the next step is and how to talk. Similar problems existed in the refugee work, when groups with women in them who went to hostels. They were stared at too. There too the discussions did not take place immediately. The next time, the women sent the men in first, and they said, "the women belong to us, no staring or trying anything on"!!! That sound tough, but it was a practical solution first off. We looked at it from the angle of what could be done differently in practice. All the same, it was still bad, because it meant that no discussions could start around this point, as to how you could now deal with such stuff, but instead we contented ourselves with this stop-gap solution. But these things are part of everyday life here (the come ons, etc), and that you have to deal with as a woman but also as a man in the scene and to develop your work by discussion.

ARTHUR: That is what it is also all

about, when you hear this slogan "break down the walls of our scene-ghetto", which will also determine our success, and even in all the shit that goes on inside the Scene - all the way as far as rape - there are still not the same modes of behavior that are part and parcel of everyday life outside.

ANNA: Despite all the shit, that goes on there is still more peace and quiet. As a woman you can still move a bit more safely than elsewhere.

CLASH: But I think only relatively speaking.

ANNA: Of course only relatively speaking. That is why I also find it so important that the guys worry about it. My part as a woman, is to worry about other women, to build their confidence and self-esteem. To talk with women, also those who are not outside the Scene, right... also to strengthen the women, who are not in the Scene. To do something, to hammer on the table now and again. But we don't have a cut and dried solution either. That is a problem and it is a deficit.

ARTHUR: I must admit, that I still have a big question mark before me. What remains valid for me, is that the guys have to start doing it, that it is impossible to wait for the women's movement to make demands on us yet again, for guys to start now. It has to be just clear, that you can not operate outside the scene with the aims that you have in the scene, well the same aims sure, but not go the same way to make changes.

CLASH: **Organized antifa-groups and the militant attacks against fascists or the open fighting on the streets are not new. At the moment there are contrivers debates about the question of violence and at the same time an increased planned criminalization against active anti-fascists. We think that the inadequacy of the struggles against the patriarchal structures produced by society are also a reason why the militant resistance against the fascists has not been able to win out, in as far as it has not been taken up by masses. Do you also believe that a more precise debate on the question of revolutionary violence and the fight against power relations would strengthen our ranks much more?**

ARTHUR: I think that is very

important, we simply must talk about violence. You hear quite often a shout go up "What not violence, not again"... particularly in our relations to youth, we must de-mystify this question. We must express much more clearly, that we do not get a kick out of violence, that we don't find violence attractive, on the contrary we hate it. We often glorify violence too, it must be dealt with more objectively, in a more sober manner, because it is really the opposite to what we are struggling for. That is nothing new, if you look at it this way... **CLASH:** Well, i think, that it is really not spoken about too often, this conflict, it was on one hand always clear, that it was necessary for one reason or another, to drive the Fascists back, to hold and defend areas, there are always a thousand rational reasons. In the drive forward however, often you fail to take a look at yourself, or your own attitude to violence. I have tended to leave that to others often as not, who had it straight in their minds. I was not always so sure, though I found it correct. However, that was never an issue, as a group, we never clarified such taboos. At the most, we talked about it with friends now and again. It was not possible for everyone to talk about it together.

ARTHUR: I also think that it is not possible to simply push away the reservations that people have. That is what also makes us different from the fascists, that is something positive that is a part of us. We could go outside with this much more, make the power relations here an issue, what violence also means for the pigs. We must make clear that violence is a means for us and not a value. We are probably going to be the last some time to still have a certain non-violence on our banners, probably the only ones to still say it out loud.

CLASH: We must make the conditions of violence much more clear, that is about the really crass repression/exploitation, that we are also against, whether it be in physical conflicts with male and female fascists, or in militant politics.

ANNA: Yes, our Youth Antifa has also had such discussions. People have held talks on exactly such subjects, where that point was made, the relevance of violence and non-violence.

We have had such discussions lots of times especially with young people. We exchanged experiences and people experienced how the pigs acted. Many had never suspected the way it is. For example at REP meetings (The REPublicans are the biggest party on the Right in Germany), a lot of school kids go out against these meetings, and then they get scared when they see the pigs, they make their experiences.

ARTHUR: What we have to watch, is that we remember to emphasize the successes of actions where we use

to them what was going on and why. That really had an effect on the people, they were shocked/moved. We have had some real successes in our offensive fight against the fascists, we just have to make them public knowledge. **CLASH:** The AA/FO's concept places great emphasis on publicity work. Is there a kind of concept for cooperation with the bourgeois media? What about the necessity for your own independent information channels? What do you mean by publicity work?



Antifascists trying to prevent a NPD-meeting, Frankfurt/FRG, 1/9/93

violence. That is often missing. It is a simple fact, that the fascists have been driven back in those towns where there are functioning, offensive antifascist structures. It is quieter there for now. Often male and female fascists move out, or at least young kids are not so easily recruited, even if only because they are scared of the Autonomen. Those are successes at a time when the foreigners and left-wingers are in a life and death situation. That is propagated much too rarely. Also in comparison to all these candle-lit demos, with the politicians from Bonn in the front. Another group from the AA/FO made a good intervention, I'll tell you about it: Some of them disguised themselves as foreigners and joined the ranks of such a candle-lit demo. Others from the groups disguised themselves as fascists and attacked them. A large part of the people in the demo just turned around and walked away. In a real attack, the fascists could have done what they wanted. Some foreign kids then intervened and the group explained

ARTHUR: Well, above all, we have to change something regarding the way of thinking, the awareness and so improve the possibilities that we have of using the media. I think we have to be more aware of that. I also think that we have to build up a more consistent approach to the press, that goes beyond a "here's our leaflet for the next demo...". It is quite clear, that we must approach this issue tactically. There are really quite big differences between our areas of interest and theirs. We should also be aware however, that there are quite a lot of critical journalists, for example these old 68ists, who had aims for a critical journalism, even if there are only a few left who have the guts for it. Nevertheless, there is an interest in such articles, and we have an interest that such something comes over in the media. There is of course the value and commodity "Information", which we can work with, to exploit the competition amongst the press, when we see fit to. We cannot expect that we can convey our politics, our issues via

the media. The divergence of interests is simply too great for that, but nevertheless we need to look at this very closely. How we can get something in there on a regular and continuous basis, and not only at times where there is greater interest and sensationalism.

ANNA: I also think that we have to have that in mind when there are demos and stuff, when reporters talk to us. We must be able to tell them something, and not to treat them as ass-holes just because they did not publish our last leaflet. Another sort of publicity work is to go with an aim in mind to schools and colleges, to hold lectures, offer seminars or simply distribute leaflets on a regular basis. Info-stalls in the town center are also very important, as a point for people to come to, but also as an action which many people can join in on.

CLASH: It appears that not all antifa groups, initiatives and individual activists support your organizational model. How do you conceive working together with such groups, what are the consequences in your town?

ANNA: There is an "observer" status for interested people in our discussion structures, in order to provoke a decision from such people on where they stand. When we look at individuals or other groups that are active, then we see a willingness to work together. Our view on cooperation is also, however, a long-term one. The criticism that not everybody supports the organizational model of the AA/FO is one that was also expressed at the national meeting. In other words, that there is a danger of a split - moreover, there were many groups there, who only came once. We also had a long debate about whether or not to join. We were more or less unanimous in our decision to try it out. The decision was made in the FO to make the decision public now and to start. That was the result of approx. two years of critical arguments. Now we wanted to finally make a start as decided AA/FOers. A lot will be revealed by the concrete work and be resolved - hopefully.

CLASH: Just now, there are quite a few debates going on about united front/coalition politics, cooperation with bourgeois and reformist groups. What is the attitude of the AA/FO and your

group to this issue?

ANNA: The question of coalition politics or cooperation with other institutions such as Pro Asylum, etc are weighted differently depending on the conditions in each town, because these vary from town to town. In some towns, the antifas made good contacts, with Greens for example, because the

with the Greens and the Peace initiatives, etc, whereby all sat there on equal terms with one vote. However, it was always quite clearly our thing to mobilize all the people out on the streets. Those mobilized were made up to almost always 80% from people in our structures. That is due to the fact, that their politics are designed to take place

is a case perhaps of building a front in the town against the fascists?

ARTHUR: It becomes an interesting question in view of youth organizations such as the JUSOs(*). There are often some people there, who are really fit, but are there because they never got to know anything different. Sure then we tell them right out, what we think about the SPD and the JUSOs. It is however, important to make our positions and our politics transparent to them. We have also made the experience, that as a result people have deserted to join us. I find it important to confront them again and again. There are often people sitting there with illusions, real communists from the Trotzkist wing, who have been dreaming for a hundred years of undermining the SPD and of course, the debate with such people does not have to just go on in the coalition, but also more often.

CLASH: Have you also seen an orientation to other anti-fascist organizations in other european countries in your discussions, for example AFA in Britain or SCALP in France?

ANNA and ARTHUR: No, we haven't.

CLASH: And do you know anything about them?

ARTHUR: To be honest, ermmm, well, no.. Well something about the Anti-Fascist Action in Britain, but I have never heard anything about the French comrades.

CLASH: Well, to keep it short: In France, there is a national organization of radical anti-fascist groups, who call themselves S.C.A.L.P. In the Netherlands, there are Anti-fascists working on a national network right now, called the AFA; Antifascist Aktie. What importance does international organization and coordination have for the AA/FO?

ARTHUR: I think that it is really extremely important. And when the AA/FO is set up properly, then the cooperation with groups in other countries takes on a quite different character. International linking meant years of solidarity work here. If we have an organization here, that is organized really well, then other countries will be able to relate to us quite differently. That is something that was often missing here, and that



people organized there were ok. In our town for example, the opposite is the case. And as a whole it is a case, whereby it is necessary to be open for cooperation at certain points, whether that be in collecting signatures for resolutions or mobilizing support from organizations for demos or whatever. That is clear and goes on in all member-towns affiliated to the AA/FO and experiences vary widely. There were discussions about what people and groups should be invited to the first joint meeting of the AA/FO. The result was that generally- speaking, we thought about it all together, but that the individual towns had a free hand as far as which groups and institutions, they invited from their own town. That is what you can say about the entire AA/FO.

ARTHUR: There were discussions, that were about how we have to propagate our positions more clearly in coalitions in future in our regional work. In other words, that we want to take an offensive line and not to make all these compromises so quickly. We have made these experiences of coalitions

in the town councils or whatever. Whether you take the DGB(*) as an example or someone else. And that is something that we will stress more strongly in future, that our mobilization force is much greater. In our town we have had a lot of bad experiences, because we were not offensive enough with this. We have also drawn some consequences from this. There were for example SPDers(*) there in our coalition, who just handed the entire minutes of meetings over to the police and we now say that we want nothing more to do with the SPD. That is clearly the enemy, that is no coalition. The most important thing about united front politics is to draw such positions, to see who is relevant in the coalition and who not.

CLASH: The state's politics has been to claim to be anti-racist over the past months, and that they want to combat neo-fascism. Right and there you sit with the town council factions and local branches of the corresponding parties represented in the national parliament. Do you confront them with their politics or do you just let them sit in, because it

meant that "only" solidarity work was left for us to do.

CLASH:...with the exception of the West European Front for example.

ARTHUR: OK, ok, right. Sure the same goes for Antifa structures, as for other structures too, that it would really stupid to just look at your own country. I also find it important that the character has changed. I know from my own experience with Kurds for example, that they always had their problems with the Left here, because quite simply we did not have any organization. Nothing occurred to them, except that we could do some solidarity work for them, just because our structures were totally obtuse and chaotic, impossible to relate to. We have heard from other countries, that there is an interest in the AA/FO, from Italy and Spain.

ANNA: The Spider's Web, this computer mailbox system is one point. It has made it possible to get material and information. This has led to it now being possible to communicate. We are in the process now of linking up amongst ourselves and to build the organization. It is still too early for an international cooperation.

ARTHUR: It is however, also a case that the international work has become less. That is also quite logical that our attention is inward right now, in view of the fact that we are seeing a downturn in this country. In the past, we have seen many more internationalistic, mass demos about El Salvador, South Africa, etc. There was a big Left-wing movement on these issues out on the streets and many groups who were doing international work. The awareness and the power WERE THERE to take on the international work. That has now collapsed. Because here in this country, the shit has hit the fan and everything has exploded in our faces. It is very difficult to have an effect by working such issues. It must not be allowed to remain like it is, but that is the situation right now. I find a link up, especially with European countries because of the similar if not consecutive developments, to be important. We must work on a structured cooperation. And it is super-important to link up with such groups as AFA and SCALP, etc and to start an exchange.

(THE END)

REMARKES

***1:** From the end of the seventies until 1987 there were hard struggles at the airport of Frankfurt/Main against the Runway West, which was an imperialistic project.. There was big movement of social protest by initiatives of citizens and militant resistance of left radical groups. In 1987 two policemen were shot during an annual demonstration at the 2nd of november (the day when in 1981 a hut village resisting in the forest where the runway should be built was brutally evicted by the cops). The following oppression weakened the resistance as well as the struggles connection into society. The regional resistance-scene was busied with the following trials and the effects of oppression on the own structures.

***2:** In the late summer of 1991 a discussionpaper on the question of autonomous organizing was published by an Antifa group of Göttingen (city in the north of germany). It made concrete proposals on structures of organizing, membership and statutes. The necessity of better organizing was shortly explained. There were opposing critics given on this paper and the discussion became very lively especially among autonomous groups.

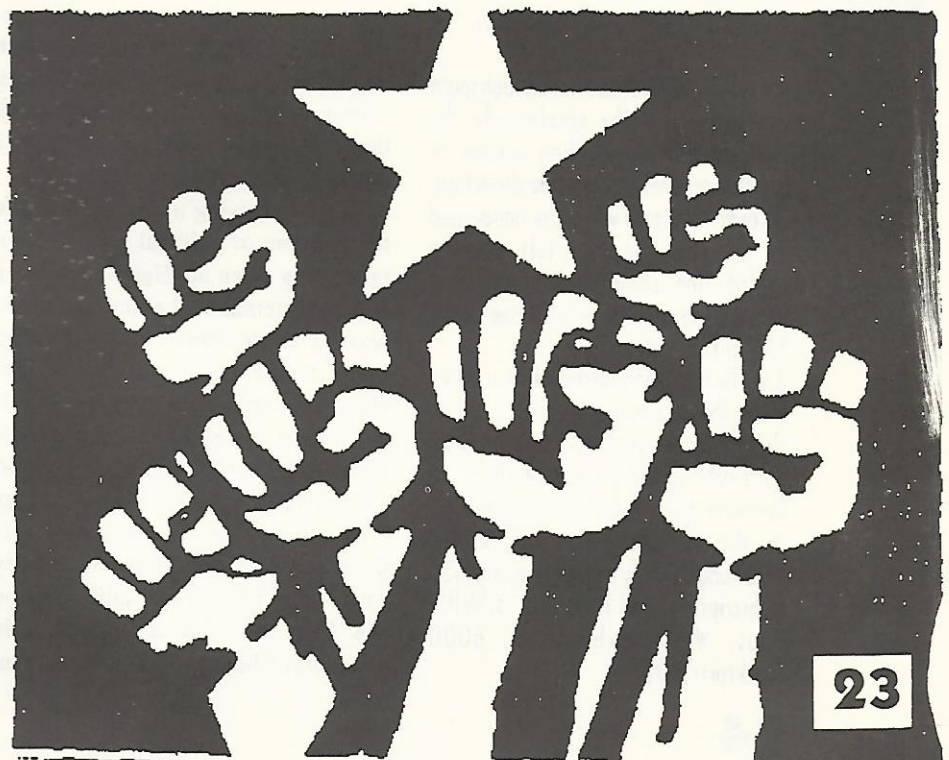
***3:** Since summer 1991 a very controversial discussion on the forms of autonomous politics took place. It was initiated by a group calling itself

"Heinz Schenk" (a famous folk-tv-star of the beer-and-wine-wing) and criticized autonomous politics very sharply as e.g. ghetto-mentality, campaign-politics, subjectivism and unconsciousness towards history. This was the context in which the Göttingen-paper was published.

***4:** The SED (= Socialist Party of Unity) was the ruling party in the GDR (German Democratic Republic)

***5:** In May/June 1992 a refugee camp got besieged from people of the neighbourhood for some days. The refugees were directly exposed to an aggressive racist terror. They nearly couldn't walk on the street and could hardly sleep at night. In this situation antifascist groups intervened and expelled the people in order to be present during the following days and weeks to protect the camp. This intervention caused hard attacks by the police during demonstrations, but also the public drew attention on the situation in Mannheim (see also Clash Nr. 7)

***6:** That's an analysis and practice of autonomous groups during the 80ties. To fight fascism also means to fight the imperialistic system. The continuity of fascism in german economical and political structures was always obvious. In the middle of the 80ties there was lots of analysis, discussions and activities on this theme.



FREEDOM NOW!



We took the following minutes of the meeting "for freedom of all political prisoners worldwide" out of the brochure "Flugsand" which is a documentation of the forum 1 at the international congress against the world economic summit in Munich 1992.

For all people who hadn't had the chance to participate in this meeting the minutes may be a slight substitute. Perhaps it is possible to feel a bit of that evenings atmosphere by reading it.

The meeting took place during the mobilization against the world economic summit in June 1992. Despite the strong and strenuous demonstration during that day, more over 500 people (up to 800) came to the meeting. Many people afterwards told that it was the most impressing meeting of those days.

Unfortunately we have not enough space to publish also the greetings to the congress and the meeting written by political prisoners and organizations from all over the world which are announced in the text. We also left out the contribution about Gerhard Bögelein because we already publish one about him in this issue.

Also the following introduction is taken from the brochure "Flugsand" but is slightly rearranged by us and the some parts cut out, that were very specific to Germany. All contributions are published in the mentioned brochure but unfortunately only in German language. (subscriptions: AWI 1992, c/o "3. Welt"-Haus, Westerbachstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/M.90)

"the American 500-years-campaign has emphasized one momentum of political suppression and resistance: The question of the political prisoners, exemplary at Leonard Peltier, native prisoner in the USA, whose release is demanded. The forum takes up this initiative and puts it into the context of treatment of political prisoners in the different parts of the world and the situation of human rights in the 'new world order'".

(out of the presentation of Forum I "500 years of colonialism and resistance - democracy and human rights in the new world order" at the international congress against the world economic summit in Munich, FRG, July 1992)

Solidarity with the imprisoned revolutionaries was probably rarely to be heard clearer within the last years in a mass mobilization in Germany than in the one against the world economic summit. The American campaign's demand for giving a big emphasize to the freedom of political prisoners was manifestly taken up. Hereof, the forum I of the international counter-congress was an expression. The demand has been always present by banners, slogans and choruses - if in the workshops and at the evening meeting with he-comrades and she-comrades from many countries, if at the strong demonstration on Saturday or during the action-days, especially on Tuesday. This solidarity was not split. Up from the first moment it included the prisoners of the armed and of the militant

left in FRG. Therefore the mass-arrestation of hundreds during the official summit reception wasn't needed.

But what does that express? Does it mean that now more people support the prisoners and make it their "cause"? If the criterion is the last half year, then the response can only be "no". At least there has not developed a campaign after Munich which tries to intervene directly into the confrontation between state and prisoners in FRG. But also that wasn't inevitably to expect. Over all it wasn't to expect that nearly for all who tried during these days to demonstrate criticism and protest in the streets against the murderous politics of the 7 ruling powers, it was unanimously clear: the prisoners have to be free! It wasn't important any longer then, if the politics of Guerilla is right or wrong, or if the political prisoners should demand regroupment or 'normal' detention - all that and much more of last ten years' debates had disappeared. The nerving block in the ideologizations of the one or other demand, but also the political overestimation that's on the prisoners' fight where the future of revolutionary politics is decided in general - seemed to be wiped away during the days in Munich. In our actions the prisoners were what they ever should have been: an essential part of our struggle. The slogan "freedom for all political prisoners" belonged to the days against the world economic summit like the feet which carried us.

Contributions of prisoners made in the

last time, if the greetings to Munich, declarations to the 500-years-campaign or if it was about the decision of the RAF, were noted - there was a storm of applause after every contribution in the streets of Munich - but they were hardly really discussed. For most people, the prisoners of RAF and resistance are coming of 'another time'. Often this time is situated before the own politicization. Direct common concepts of fight aren't the reference any longer.

Other questions are much nearer: the struggle against fascists, who threat more and more also directly our life, who attack youth centers and left bars - not to mention the daily murderous terror against foreign people -; the struggle against homelessness in a time when squatted houses, beneath their political and social importance as meeting points, are more and more needed for surviving face to shocking speculation with flats and rack renting in West-German and in East-German cities....

That demands for political consequences in the own thinking and acting. A (new) common perspective has to be worked out in discussions and practice.

In comparison to the atmosphere in Munich, but also in opposition to the hope of many people during the turn of the year 1991/92 about the supposed rapid release of the political prisoners (refer to Clash Nr. 6, page 53), the rock bottom seems to be reached at the time being. Nobody can tell "what the future

will bring". The only certain thing is that we have to fight for every little improvement in the detention conditions of our she-comrades and he-comrades. But without relation towards the social reality, the contradictions and the fights against, the demand for freedom will remain in the political vacuum and will go blunt.

Despite the mass demonstration's being quite strenuous for the speakers and also for many visitors, and in spite of having to wait, much more than 500 people joined the Saturday evening meeting "for the freedom of the political prisoners all over the world".

The splitted solidarity with struggles in this world along the catch-word: "the farer away from Germany - the bigger it is" had been overcome. Prisoners of the most different struggles for freedom were "present" and couldn't be divided. It became a demonstrative and militant meeting with contributions from different parts of this world about the respective fight of the prisoners for their freedom. The atmosphere exceeded all expectations. You can feel only a bit of the meeting's atmosphere in the recorded minutes.

The contributions of the she-comrades and he-comrades were accompanied by applause for minutes. The slogan "freedom for all political prisoners" often was shouted as already at the demonstration. A very long, warm and stormy welcome was made to Günter Sonnenberg. The fight for his release

lasted 15 years long. Now he was among us. All were present with their hearts.

The he-comrades and she-comrades from El Salvador, Turkey, FRG, Puerto Rico and USA, Uruguay and the Philippines, all of them had one common internationalist demand - freedom for all political prisoners all over the world!

With the background of this political and emotional agreement, and out of the discussions in and outside of the forum, the idea was born to start a common initiative for a worldwide day for the freedom of the political prisoners. The comrades of the Tupamaros, the NDF, FMLN and MLN/Puerto Rico made a short record of this discussion: "Munich, 6.7.92. We, international organisations who have met in Munich to participate in the congress "500 years of colonialism and resistance", have decided that it is necessary to initiate a dialogue between all political, religious, humanitarian, democratic, social, a.s.o. organisations with the aim to fix the 'world day of political prisoners' and to demand their freedom. We hope that this dialogue will be held rapid and effective and that we can agree definitely in this initiative at short notice."

It was clear for all: that cannot be a short-winded and spontaneous project. Therefore it's too important. It is necessary to tighten the relations and to include the real developments in the single countries. In Germany an action group will be founded in the next time.



**Jail is the place were they
with the clenched fist our mind is**

"Freedom to the political

What I want to say additionally refers to the situation here in Munich particularly at meetings. It is possible that the police tries to enter heavily as it happened already at other meetings. We say very clearly that we do not want that and do not tolerate that. (applause) That means concretely that we'll stay in this room, but the police recording team and the police will not be allowed to come in; that negotiations and debates will take place outside in front of the door, and that we continue inside here as normal. Also it is not necessary that more people go out. The negotiations, discussions etc. all will take place outside in front of the door. If they really try to come in heavily and violently as at the meetings in Haidhausen during the last weeks - what I don't believe, that they

will do it in a church; at least they didn't do it for a long time - then we shall try to have enough time to talk about how we are going to act exactly and then go out. I do not think that this situation will arrive, but if it does, we cannot continue the meeting under these conditions. But we also cannot tolerate that a USK-squad (bavarian special 'anti-terror' police, famous for its brutality; the translator) storms in here. (applause and interruption: and if we do not leave...)

*At the beginning of this meeting I like to welcome all who have been invited to speak here. That is **Gisela Dutzi**, former RAF prisoner. (applause)*



**Saturday,
4. July '92
in Munich
Germany**



imprison our bodies - walking through the streets !

prisoners worldwide"

I have just heard that the kurdish comrade Yasemin Gedik, who would have liked to be with us this evening and who we had invited, unfortunately cannot come. Her back is hurting due to the strenuous day, and it seems to be so bad that she is not able to come. These are the marks of jail, the marks of torture, which left a ruined back to her. Therefore she has a slipped disc.

Further I like to welcome: Oscar Tagumpay from the Philippines, of the NDF, the National Democratic Front. (applause) Then I like to welcome Teodoro Anderson and Sonja Rivera of the MLN - liberatinon movement from Puerto Rico. (applause)

Furthermore Nilüfer Alcan of Özgür-Der from Turkey. (applause)

And Mirtala Lopez of the FMLN from El Salvador. (applause)

And as the last speaker: Gasciela Jorge of the MLN-Tupamaros from Uruguay. (applause)

And now there is Lew Gurwitz who I have overlooked. He is lawyer (from the USA) of Leonard Peltier and member of the Leonard Peltier Defense Comitee. Leonard Peltier is a native who is sentenced two times for life in the USA due to a so-called murder of

policemen. There is also a petition which we pass around and which is going to be given to the US consulate (on the action day at Tuesday).

Right now something about the course of this evening. We are sorry that it has become so late now. The speakers have had a strenuous day as we all. Now there is the following programme: German political prisoners wrote two greetings which we want to read out. Then there is a greeting of Dhoruba Bin-Wahad from the USA...a former Black Panther, who was in prison for 18 years. Then a short article is following about an old anti-fascist who has been convicted at Hamburg recently. He was charged of participating in killing a policeman in 1932. We think it is very important that even now, 1992, when Germany gets up to become a world power, a trial like this takes place and actually no public indignation develops and it is accepted without protest. Therefore we ... with this short report. Afterwaras ! speakers will talk briefly about the movement's developement in their countries and how the relationship to the prisoners has been and what are today's level and the present demands.

WE DON'T PUBLISH THE ARTICLE ABOUT GERHARD BÖGELEIN AT THIS PLACE, BECAUSE WE HAVE ALREADY AN ARTICLE ABOUT HIM IN THIS ISSUE. IT WOULD BE A REPETITION.

Lew just proposed that the people standing in the back at the door perhaps could move a bit into the room, so that at least a bit fresh air can flow in.

And now I like to ask Lew for coming to the microphone. Lew is a lawyer. I think therefore he can tell a lot. Thank you.

LEW GURWITZ: I'm glad that I can be here this evening. I have a question: the 48 prisoners of today, are they all out of prison in the meantime? (applause) It will be good if someone can find out that before we are going out here tonight and are leaving the meeting. (applause)

My name is Lew Gurwitz and I am lawyer from the USA. I have been lawyer of **Leonard Peltier**, who is, in my view, one of the most visible and perhaps the most visible and most known political prisoner in the world. Since I have begun working as a lawyer, that was in 1971, I have worked with political prisoners.

In 1971 I was lawyer of the **Attica-brothers**. How many people in here do actually know who are the Attica-brothers? There are always people who are aware of our history.

The rebellion in Attica was like this that in 1971 a large number of prisoners in the jail of Attica, which is situated in the state New York, occupied the jail yard for about 30 days. In their demands they brought up the question of worldwide jail conditions, and the state governor's, whose name was Nelson Rockefeller, reaction was to send in the National Guard and the Federal Police and the police of the state New York and to suppress the rebellion totally bloody. Many prisoners were killed and even more injured, and the police tortured the prisoners for 3 days. Lawyer colleagues knocked at

the doors and shouted and demanded to speak their clients, and the cops simply said: "Go to hell, you don't have the right to get in there."

The prisoners had been tortured for 3 days before lawyers got in. When the lawyers finally got in, the whole thing only slowed down but didn't stop. Then there were a number of trials, in which course a warder was killed. Three prisoners (Dany..., Jonny Hill, Tommy Pernesibee), one of them a native-prisoner and two other prisoners, finally were convicted of killing the warder. In Attica 1971, 80 % of the prisoners were black american african.

But the reason why I'm mentioning this individual case in the history of prisoners is that this rebellion caused a whole lot of jail rebellions in the USA and in the whole world. In Europe as well as in Central- and South America prisoners began to take over the jails and to fight for their rights.

Support was given to the prisoners' fights also from outside and the topic of detention conditions got worldwide attention.

I don't know what was it like in

Europe, but in the USA these rebellions resulted in many political people and also many lawyers swearing to themselves to do all things possible and to fight for the rights of their sisters and brothers in prison. But it happened also that this promise and this engagement for the prisoners lasted exactly as long as the next wave of political activities sloshed up. In this case it was the solidarity with Latin America, so that many political activists and also lawyers simply have turned to the next topic and have left alone the prisoners. A lot of imprisoned sisters and brothers have been destroyed due to their being left alone, partly they also died.

There are many different kinds of political prisoners. Those who are easy to identify are men and women who have been active in political organisations and who have been convicted because of their activities, for instance that they have fought against the Vietnam war, that they have fought against racism and oppression, have struggled according to their political convictions, and then have been imprisoned due to their political convictions.

And then there are other political prisoners. For instance the black men and women in the USA, who can't get a job because of their skin colour and who have no money to feed their children and then simply take a gun, walk into the next shop and raid it to get by that way the money and the food to provide for the family they are responsible for. All people who commit an action because of their affiliation to a certain race or skin colour, because of affiliation to a religious community, because of their political conviction, and who then are convicted, are political prisoners. (applause)

I'm one of several lawyers who appear for Leonard Peltier. I think he is one of the most prominent political prisoners and I know that Leonard agrees with me that we have to behave in the same way towards the other political prisoners who I've just mentioned, that we have to act in solidarity with them. Leonard says again and again that we have to think about why people get imprisoned and who is in the jails and that it's like this that in certain states of the USA native americans come to, let's say, 10 % of the population, but make 60 % of the jail population. 1492, when colonisation have begun, there was no single native american sitting in any jail of the hemisphere. (applause)

Today 57 people have been arrested, 25 have been released recently, and I hope that the others will be released this very evening too. Do pay attention on the way home so that you actually will arrive at home.

Now I want to say some words about Leonard Peltier. Leonard Peltier was sentenced two times for life because he was said to have murdered two FBI agents in



1975. Since then several lawyers and other people have tried again and again to reopen his case and to show the facts, what actually happened on this day. In the meantime it's clear that Leonard did not kill the two FBI agents. The only case they have is that one, which the prosecuting attorney's office, the government have constructed. It is based only on lies and deceit.

Leonard is in jail because the government didn't know who they otherwise could have arrested and convicted for the killing of the two FBI agents. They lost two agents and needed someone to pay for. Leonard was at that place and also has admitted shooting after the officers had been attacked. He has shot in self-defense.

For all natives and indigenas in North-, Central-, and South-America, that means actually for all people all over the world, Leonard is an example for how far the government goes to keep you away and to imprison you, if you try to stand on your own two feet, if you fight for your people, if you try to go another way than the one they dictate you. (applause)

We have to free Leonard now. Leonard Peltier is one of the most known political prisoners in the USA. Recently I have gone to Washington and have met a friend of mine who works for a congress-man. He had visitors. As they left after the visit they asked him what will happen with Leonard Peltier? These people came from Tibet and they hoped to meet him there, but he isn't to see anywhere. If everyone of us all over the world is able to contact people and to achieve that they support his freedom and if we succeed in freeing Leonard from prison, then we will have built also a system to

free all other political prisoners all over the world. I ask all people for devoting their energy to free Leonard. Only when we will have freed Leonard from prison, when all political prisoners will be free, then we'll can start to think about how we can free ourselves. (long, rising applause with howling.)

And now, brothers and sisters, I'm already talking the whole time about Leonard Peltier. Many people are here, perhaps somebody has a question, perhaps somebody likes to know details. Also informations and petitions are passing round here, demanding freedom for Leonard Peltier. I feel like sitting down and letting speak other people. I like being with you here and I ask you to participate with me and all brothers and sisters and **help to free Leonard Peltier and all other political prisoners.** (applause)

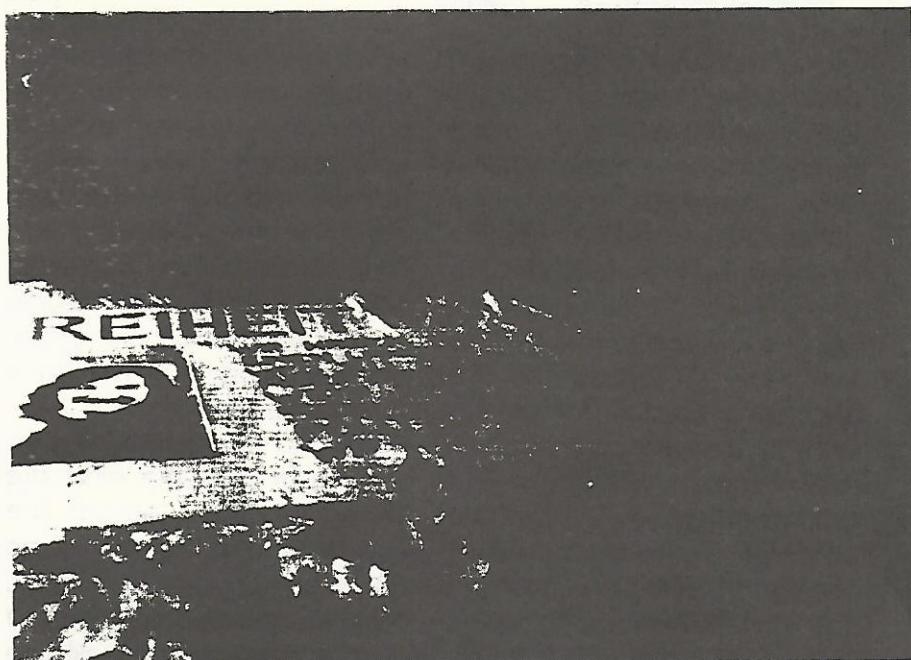
Thank you Lew. The freedom of all political prisoners is a topic also here in the FRG and in this context I like Gisela Dutzi, former RAF prisoner, to come to the microphone. I like to mention that there is a letter from the RAF to the participants of the congress and the demonstration, which was published in the TAZ (German

Newspaper, formerly it was a left one). (Applause)

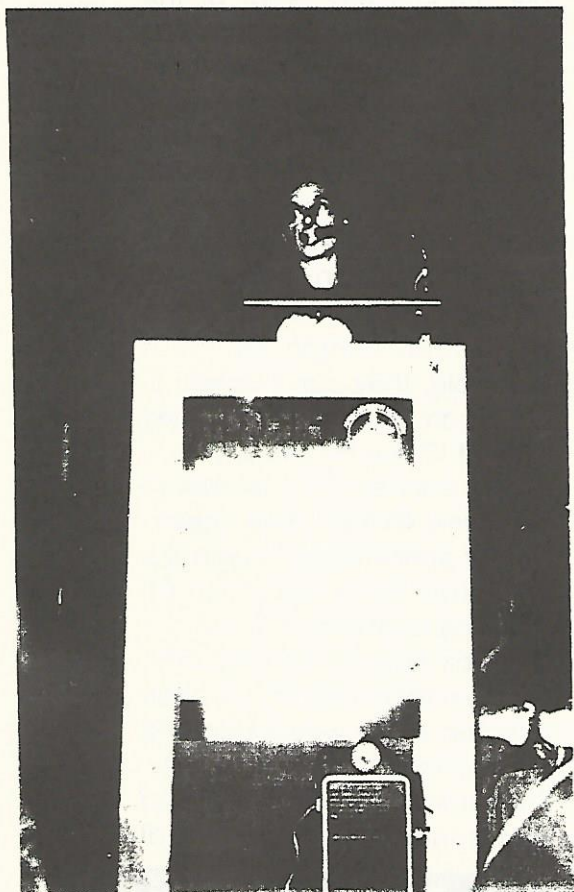
Gisela Dutzi: I'm pleased to speak this evening, especially in connection with many people, comrades and friends from other countries, from third-world countries, assembled with us here. I think, beeing together in this forum and exchanging our experiences is a great honour for our struggle too. A lot of the people from other countries who are sitting here and also many of you in the auditorium have been in prison for long time and have suffered a lot of harm in there. But that we are here now also shows us that by this harm we can get stronger too. Prison attacks one's substance, one's roots, but it also shows that human dignity is invincible. They can't defeat it. They can kill people but they cannot kill our human dignity.

In this connection I'd like to **welcome Günter once again., Günter Sonnenberg.** (enormous applause for a few minutes, standing ovations)

Probably you all now that after 15 years in prison Günter has been released a few weeks ago and he has kept his strong identity. Günter was seriously injured and imprisoned in most brutal



conditions of isolation. I'm very happy that he is with us today and I would like having all political prisoners with us soon. In FRG we have struggled with 10 great hunger-strikes for changes of the conditions, for regroupment since there have been prisoners from FRG and resistance, for 22 years. Now the main case is the prisoners freedom - that the prisoners get out of prison.



During the hunger-strikes we have been always aware of having as well a responsibility to other people in prison in the South. We knew that FRG exports the conditions of isolation we are imposed to. Exports them into countries of the third world. This is just one method of torture. And we have struggled for the abolition of isolation, for the end of this torture in this consciousness too. Freedom is the question (demand) of today, the freedom of the political prisoners everywhere and I think we can only win their freedom together. Being here together is a strong

impression and I'm particularly glad about it. This struggle for the prisoners' freedom is taking place at a time when everything, the whole development, is at a point of intersection.

I think, the things mentioned on this congress are very important. They have been discussed the whole time too. We have to start different developments here. We have to bring the catastrophic development to an end which imperialism is putting on mankind, the death of human beings and nature. We have to stop it. If this catastrophic development continues there is no perspective. And I think we have to discuss this as well as the different ideas and ways. But it has to be our common base and at this time we say: The prisoners out, prisoners have to be out everywhere.

500 years colonialism, 500 years resistance - and I hope we'll still have a lot of interchange about the one important fact, that these 500 years of resistance gave all of us a lot of criterions for the struggle. That's why we are very interested in talking to people from the South.

We have developed criterions here too and about this I'd just like to touch one or two things. There was the declaration of RAF which said that particular actions are being stopped now. I have noticed in it and even in discussions before that here is a strong tendency to put the methods always in the forefront. And I think about this we can learn one or two things by people coming from somewhere else but also by ourselves. We have developed too.

Our struggles' content is important to us and the aims are important. The methods are coming second. They have to be discussed too but not at first. Otherwise the complete sense of our struggle would be lacking in

content. There are so many vital problems on earth we have to tackle and there are situations wherein one has to struggle armed too, wherein armed methods are necessary.

(Applause)

We have developed a further criterion out of the long time in the resistance and in the struggle, the one Lew has mentioned this afternoon too. It is concerning our own change. I think in the struggle in our country we have learned it as well: We have to fight the system, but we cannot defeat the system if we don't change ourselves too. We have learned how important this is, most of all during the long time in prison, and also particularly in this country we grew up in and are struggling in, here in FRG: Here is a very strong individualism and if you precisely analyse it it's quite obvious. It is connected with the capitalistic system, the competition, one against each other. And these structures are existing in the political and struggling groups as well. And I think we'll only be able to get stronger if we'll overcome these structures, if we really learn to act in solidarity and in common. Or, like Che has once expressed it: "We have to be hard against our enemies but we have to keep our affection". And concerning this country here, I think it's correct to say that we have to regain our affection because they have destroyed ours. (Applause) Now I just want to remind of the prisoners of RAF and resistance. To give an idea I want to mention briefly two of them and tell why they are in prison. Imrgard Möller is imprisoned since 1972. She is in prison because she struggled against the war in Vietnam, because of an action against US-army during the war in Vietnam. Bernd Rössner has fallen seriously sick by the isolation in prison and we are very con-

cerned about that he has to get out of prison as soon as possible. (Confirming Applause) Bernd Rössner is in prison since 1975 because he occupied the west-german embassy in Sweden then with the aim to free the prisoners of RAF. To conclude I want to call up once again to struggle for the freedom of all political prisoners all over the world. Let's fight for it! Venceremos! (Strong Lasting Applause)

I think it's a real pity but the government of the church asks us to end this event at half past eleven. Therefore I want to beg all speakers to be as brief as possible. Now I ask Nilüfer Alcan of Özgür Der from Turkey to come to microphone. Also in Turkey there was very much repression and the so-called "democratization" hasn't really changed much about it. Please Nilüfer.

[Applause]

Nilüfer Alcan: Before I start with my speech I greet you in behalf of Devrimci Sol Güçler (Revolutionary Left Forces).

I've also brought you greetings of the prisoners of Devrimci Sol in Turkey and in Kurdistan: **"We are in the right, we will triumph!"** Furthermore I bring you greetings of the political prisoners' relatives, of TAYAD, who say: "We have learned from our children to speak up for human dignity. Your struggle is our struggle".

(Applaus)

For those in power prisons have always been very important in their attempt to intimidate people who have the will for revolution. They throw them into prison, isolate them, overcome their struggles and in prisons they try to destroy the prisoners' identity with psychological programs. Thousands of progressives, revolutionists, democrats and intellectuals have filled the prisons during the epoch of september,



12th' fascist junta. They had to suffer the most severe tortures in prison and many have given their lives at it.

But the prisoners haven't accepted this repression and torture and have answered with resistance. One strong resistance was the death fasting in 1984. In this death fasting the fascist regimes' plans were destroyed. Exactly these plans should destroy the prisoners' identity by a program they called rehabilitation. Four prisoners died during this death fasting. But the prisoners have been victorious.

The struggle against prison clothes and for dignity didn't remain limited on the prisons. It has given a signal to the people outside in the society and there it has shown that the people can prevent their rights. **The resistance tradition created in the hungerstrikes and in the death fasting also leded the social opposition outside the prisons.**

They can arrest people but they can't manage to arrest people's thoughts. I'd like to read out a sentence of the leading cadre of Devrimci Sol, Dursun Karatas here which he has left short before his break-out of prison: "I burn with impatience for taking part in the struggle outside, taking part every minute but I also know I'll never be free as long as the suppressed people aren't free."

Yes, we say: "Freedom for all political prisoners." But there is to be clarified a misunderstanding. Freedom is what we are having in mind, not amnesty. The prisoners haven't struggled for amnesty, they haven't begged bourgeoisie for amnesty. They have taken their place in the struggle against imperialism at the side of the peoples. Their dignity is our dignity. (Applause)

As next I'd like to please Graciela Jorge of MNL-Tupamaros from Uruguay who have also been in prison for long time to tell us about her country, about herself and her experiences.

Hola Graciela! [Applause]

Graciela Jorge: Companeros and Companeras! I'm from Uruguay, a country which has the sad experience to have the biggest number of political prisoners and tortured people in Latin America of the 70th.

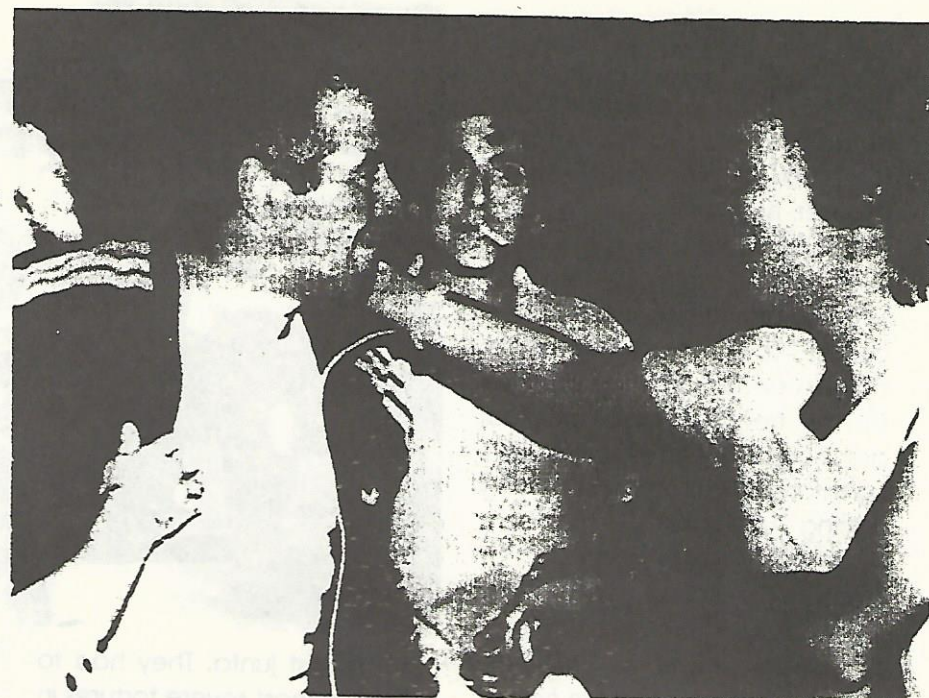
Well, in these years, from the 60th to the 80th, there have been different stages. The first one was the stage of the imprisoned guerilleros, the Tupamaros. We escaped as often as possible. (Applause) We women have escaped two times from the women prisons by very very many women. And one time a big number of men also managed to escape. (Applause and

laughter)

O.k. but after that followed **the long night of fascism** and in that time there were no possibilities to escape any longer and there were almost no attempts to do it. I myself have been in prison for 14 years but I felt being part of a country being in a prison as a whole. We had a kind of fascism without social base. That means, the whole people was subjugated to this fascism.

There were many many prisoners of Tupamaros but there were also a lot of prisoners of left-wing movements, even of liberal groups. There were left-wing prisoners, prisoners of unions, students... The people was imprisoned as a whole, because who wasn't in prison, was in exile. They had to leave the country. And those who stayed, though not in gail, were in a bigger prison anyway.

There have been some hostages among the political prisoners, Tupamaros who were in conditions of isolations of maximum amount. And among those comrades who could go into exile, that is to say they had to leave, we are having very many missed persons we are searching



14.3.85: A released Tupamaro is welcomed rapturously

for still today.

Now I'm living in a country without political prisoners. But I can't say this with real pleasure because many former prisoners are still suffering from the effects of prison, of torture. Many are still dying slowly of it, many are seriously ill like for example me too. Even Raul Sendic, our 'lider' has died of the effects of prison.

Companeras and companeros, to conclude all this, I know from my own experiences and from other comrades' experiences too, in its will to survive the human

being is very adaptable. But I also know that everything we are doing outside for the comrade in prison, for his/her freedom is very important to him/her. (Applause)

That's why I send my greetings to the political prisoners and I demand you to continue in your work for their freedom and we'll manage it too.

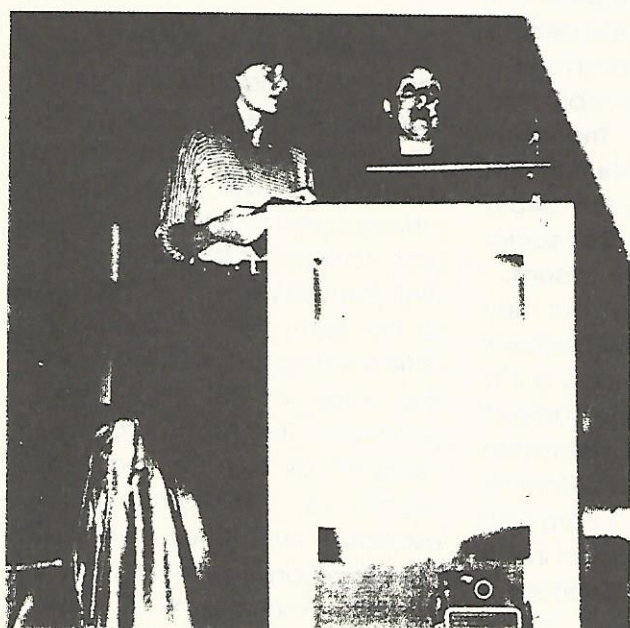
(Applause, cheers)

As next I want to say hello to Oscar Tagumpay fom Phillipines as representant of NDF (National Democratic Front) and please him to come to microphone.

I still want to say that some poeple told me they don't like to be photographed and that I should say this here. [Applause]

Oscar Tagumpay: This evenings' topic is very impo-rtant to me. I was political prisoner and have been tortured too during the time of Marcos' dictatorship in our country. But it was an ex-perience I had that I don't regret.

Because it shows that no pain, no matter of which extend, that no torture, not even the psychological one will manage it to destroy us. (Applause) We, very many political prisoners,



Graciela Jorge with translator

have come out of prison with broken arms, broken bones, broken skeleton, but our spirit is free because unbroken.

If we are in prison and if we are in conditions of isolation the aim of those who take us to prison is to isolate us from society. But a positive experience I had was to get a letter from Sweden. Why do I think this letter is so worthy? Because it contains two important messages. First: You are in prison but you are not alone. And second: Directed to those who keep us in prison: They can't manage it to isolate us from society. (Applause)

Well, dear friends and comrades, I hope you'll sign the petitions going 'round full of honesty and intensity too because it's your contribution to solidarity with those in prison and to humanity in general.

That's why I'm very happy about that there is a **demonstration for the freedom of the political prisoners** next Tuesday. We support this demonstration and wish you much success. (Agreement, applause)

Perhaps you won't believe it but now, in the time of Aquinos presidency, the smiling First Lady (laughter), we are having lesser political prisoners than in the days of Marcos. There is an order to shoot down every captured person at once, no matter if captured as guerilla or as single person, who supports the liberation fighters.

And today under the new president Ramos elected last May, we are expecting the worst 'peace'. In Philippines Ramos is one of the main architects of that what we call low intensity conflict.

We have developed some projects on Philippines to help victims of torture and for those released from prison. I'd like to take the opportunity to invite you to think about coming to



Philippines and take part in these projects. I want to mention these projects briefly: Project 1 deals with the support of raped women. Project 2 supports children who are victims of torture or its effects too. Project 3 is looking after convalescence of tortured political prisoners. It's an open invitation to you to come to Philippines to show your solidarity which let live on these projects. (Applause)

Then there are US-governments' plans to present our movement as 'terroristic movement'.

First it is claimed we were scarescrows of former Sowjet-Union. But this was never proved and it would have been completely impossible too. But in contrary to what they say, NDF, the National Democratic Front of Philippines acts according to the protocols of Geneva Convention towards the treatment of political prisoners. And we'd like to say that **New Peoples Army (NPA)** has captured about 50 members of the enemies' forces during the last two months. As far as possible they have been treated correctly and set free later on. (Applause) We've got the message three days ago that a retired captain of US-army, captured one year

ago by our NPA was released. And finally I'd like to say that we often get solidarity messages addressed to those in prison from people who haven't been imprisoned themselves. And we have answered them: "**Thank you very much for your solidarity but please don't forget: You are in a prison yourself that's simply bigger.**" Thank you (Tumultuous applause)

*Thank you Oscar. As next I'd like to please **Teodoro Anderson** of MLN from Puerto Rico to come in front to microphone. Like the Philippines Puerto Rico is even more a US-colony...please tell us something about your experiences and your history. [Applause]*

Teodoro Anderson: This event has really been very impressive 'till now. I'm deeply affected by the speech of our German companiona who has spoken before, by companiona Tupamara and by the comrade from Philippines.

Currently our organisation is carrying out an international campaign for the freedom of our prisoners, the prisoners of war and the political prisoners. Also for the fugitive guerilla-comrades, who are involved in such



prisoners and prisoners of war. Methods of torture evolved in our continent are being imported, even from Germany.

I could mention a number of daily life's cases of our female and male prisoners

activities. Abolition of all political trials and proceedings, abolition of all warrants and searches for members living in illegality. Not only for those who are known, because those who are unknown won't give themselves up to the police. And for those just waiting for their trial.

We're having prisoners of war because we're a colony. And these prisoners of war, who are members of the armed forces of Puerto Rico's liberation movement, are struggling for the independence and liberation and the social emancipation of our country Puerto Rico. (Applause) There are other political prisoners too who have declared themselves as 'politicians' or of guerilla organisations like "Peoples army" who are also struggling for our national liberation and for socialism in our country.

All our political prisoners and prisoners of war are in US-prisons.

This means: In prisons very far away from each other; in prisons far away from their relatives and best friends; in prisons separated them from their movement; in prisons in which they are exposed to physical and psychological torture in many cases. US-government has made it to its task to break our political

prisoners but I'll mention just one particular case. It's the case of our comrade **Oscar Lopez Rivera**. At the moment he is in USA's worst prison, in Marion. In this prison he's isolated 23 1/2 hours. The prisoners are having only 1/2 hour time per day and they have to decide whether they want to take a shower, call their lawyers or do gymnastics. During the last six years he had no physical contact to other people, it's even more than six years. At the moment there is a national and international pressure because of these inhuman detention conditions in Marion. Therefore US-government decided to build a new prison in the village Florins, State of Colorado, in 1994. This prison shall become the technologically most developed, most modern prison of the whole continent. Because in this prison there'll be no towers, no high walls and not so many warders. Because everything happening within this prison is computer-controlled and by this they'll abolish human contact with the prisoners completely.

Like I've said before, presently our organisation is working on a campaign for the freedom, for the unconditional freedom of the politically imprisoned women and men. It has been a very hard

work that has taken 10 years to become reality now. In principle it's running for 10 years, has started 10 years ago and now we can tell we're having the first results: The creation of a big campaign in Puerto Rico as well as in USA too. Our comrades have expressed quite clearly, at least most of them, that the motto is **the unconditional freedom of the political prisoners because it's no crime to struggle for independence and national liberation**. US-imperialism is the crime, it's in our country and colonizes it. (Applause)

Companeras and companeros, during these 10 1/2 years of our work for the political prisoners we've had triumphs and victories up to now but we had to suffer defeats too. We've had a hard time, for example in 1979, as FBI and CIA murdered comrade **Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal**, who was a member of Puerto Rican Socialist League. He was in prison because he had opposed the illegal occupation of a small island called Viequez belonging to the Puerto Rican people. He was murdered in his cell. Three clandestine Puerto Rican organisations made solidarity actions as a reaction on this assassination. There was one joint action: Nine airplanes, destined for the reactionary forces against Frente Farabundi Martí in El Salvador were blown up at the air force base of Luiza. It has been the second time in US-history, since Pearl Harbour, that a foreign force has done something like that to USA. (Applause) Perhaps one other example: It's the case of our imprisoned **companera Alexandrina**. After her capture she was raped two times in prison. And of course there are many other cases of psychological and physical torture. But there are victories too. It has been a victory that one comrade, one of our most

important commandantes of the armed forces struggling for national liberation, can live in the free Cuba. (Applause)

One essential aim of our struggle is the freedom of the political prisoners and the prisoners of war. It's the point of strongest unity among the liberation and independence movement of Puerto Rico. It is the point where the most people are coming together and this means that we've reached quite a lot. This is the moment we are able to produce the most pressure in USA and there is much pressure in Puerto Rico and the pressure in foreign countries is increasing too. We are very sure that we can achieve the unconditional freedom of the political prisoners. Thank you. (Tumultuous applause)

As last I'd like to please Mirtala Lopez from El Salvador to microphone now. [Applause] Hola Mirtala!

Mirtala Lopez: Compañeras and compañeros, seeing how tired we are all, I'm going to make it very briefly. I only like us to stand up and to spend a very strong, very longlasting applause to those compañeros and compañeras who have been arrested today, and also to those who are imprisoned all over the world because of fighting for a just cause.

(several minutes of applause like thunderous water pounding at rockets. With shouts and whistles it's rising to the slogan "power through the wall until it bursts" as an earsplitting noise and then again with rhythm "freedom for all political prisoners".)

In our country, El Salvador, thousands and thousands passed through the jails just as the comrades of the other countries described. Jail is the place where

they imprison our bodies and at the same time our mind is walking through the streets with the fist clenched. (applause) So, they could destroy us physically. But they never could destroy our morale. Let's go on! Let's go forward, struggling for freedom, struggling for peoples' self-determination. (applause)

And finally I want to say that we have to free our imprisoned comrades and all prisoners all over the world. (whistles and loud approval) We are the only ones who are called up to do that: each she-comrade and each he-comrade who is involved in the daily struggle.

**FOR THE RIGHT
OFFREEDOM AND
THE RIGHT OF
LIVING!**

**UP THE FREEDOM
OF THE POLITICAL
PRISONERS!
LET'S GO FORWARD FOR FREE-
DOM**

**COMPAÑEROS
A N D
COMPAÑERAS!**

(applause)

*Thank you Mirtala.
For reasons of time
we have to come to
an end now.*

The experiences of jail and repression which have become clearly today are only one side. Another side which also has vibrated in this room today was the struggle experience from the different countries and of the whole time. We know that there are more former political prisoners in this room - and for us that means also a sign of certain continuities which are existing, and that in this way fight won't come to an end, and also we consider these days in Munich, despite all, as being a start of discussion which we need further more.

And we are sorry that we, due to all circumstances, couldn't say more from ourselves, but we like to ask you all for taking all these discussion beginnings with you and to think about at home how we can achieve the freedom for all political prisoners. Thank you. (applause)

Finally I like to add that we want to pass a resolution refering to Bernd Rößner. In this resolution it is said who he is, how long hes has been in jail, which injuries he has and that he has to be released at once and that this also goes for the other political prisoners in



FRG who are unfit to undergo detention: Isabel Jacobs and Ali Jansen. We are going to give this resolution to the justice minister on Tuesday. We want to add that also the freedom of all political prisoners in the FRG and all over the world is at stake. I want to mention in place of all of them: Leonard Peltier, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Nathalie Menignon. That will be added to the resolution and then will be hand in. I think we can pass it like this from today's evening. Okay, thank you and by. (applause)

**UP THE INTERNATIONAL
SOLIDARITY!!!**



Although we often complain about lack of space, there is one page left. Mis-calculation, stress, etc. ...
Sorry, but perhaps at least you like the picture.

PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIALISM

Opinions from Kurdistan and El Salvador

This article seeks to present a summary of the central positions expressed in two statements made by Abdullah Öcalan and Shafik Handal in which they discuss the development of socialism. The two authors explain their fundamental views on the prospects for the liberation struggle and discuss their political perspectives. Although the conditions and background situations in Kurdistan and El Salvador are very different, many of the problems posed are similar. The idea that a renewal of socialism must take place in the context of international discussion is expressed by both of these leading anti-imperialists. This article is intended as a contribution to that discussion.

Translations of the article in German, English, Turkish and Spanish can be obtained from the Informationsstelle El Salvador, Heerstr. 205, 5300 Bonn 1, FRG. The PKK and PCS have both been sent a copy of this article.

Abdullah Öcalan, General Secretary of the PKK, Workers Party of Kurdistan, 13 May, 1992, (special supplement in "Kurdistan Report" - German edition No. 50, September 1992)

PKK was founded on 27 November 1978 and, with the HRK, entered the armed struggle in Turkish-occupied Kurdistan on 15 August 1984. The 3rd party conference of the PKK in October 1986 saw the founding of the ARGK, the popular liberation army of Kurdistan. PKK and ARGK are part of the National Liberation Front, ERNK, which was formed in March 1985.



"We believe that we debate the issues seriously and can benefit from the practical experiences made in the world. As a result some of the things which have happened in recent years may become more clear. Nobody wants to give up the socialist project. Rather, the problem is to define just what a socialist project really means today." (Shafik Handal)

Shafik Handal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS), member of the General Command of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). These statements were made on 18 September 1992 at a meeting of representatives of the solidarity movement in Germany. He spoke about questions of socialism not on behalf of the FMLN but in his capacity as General Secretary of the PCS. (Documented in "ila" No. 159, October 1992).

PCS/FMLN: The Communist Party of El Salvador was founded in 1930 and Farabundo Marti was one of its best-known representatives. After winning the election in 1932, the party was banned and forced underground. The dispute within the PCS over the question of the armed struggle led to the then General Secretary leaving the party in 1970 and founding the FPL guerilla movement. By 1977 the PCS had changed its position and formed the first armed units.

In 1980 five organisations (including the PCS and FPL) joined together in the FMLN. After 12 years of war, 80,000 dead and a military stalemate, the government and the FMLN signed a cease-fire and peace accord on 16th February 1992. The FMLN is now a legal political party.



"Socialism is the only way to save humanity and nature from the destructive capitalist-imperialist system!" (Abdullah Öcalan)



Let us begin with the introductory passage to Abdullah Öcalan's contribution:

"In the present phase - in which, on the one hand, the capitalist-imperialist system threatens mankind and nature and, on the other, Real Socialism has collapsed and there is an attempt to blur the ideological-political line of the working classes - the crisis of imperialism has grown even deeper. At the same time, it has again become only too apparent that the only way to save humanity and nature is the path of scientific socialism. For this reason our urgent task is to confront and analyze the problems of socialism now facing us. ... The view that whatever happens power will always lie firmly in the capitalist imperialist domain and that no one can fight back or, rather, that any resistance is futile, is hammered into the minds and hearts of the people by various media corporations. They want us to make our peace with this system. That, however, would mean relinquishing the liberation of humanity and the capitulation of the working classes and the peoples." (A.Ö.)

Today, following the collapse of real socialism and reinforced in the aftermath of the Gulf War, one of imperialism's central claims is expressed in the recent

talk of "the end of history". Shafik Handal confronts this ideology of infinity: "Put simply, with all its money, all its gold and all its



power capitalism cannot buy eternity. Capitalism is contrary to nature, contrary to any common sense." ... "Our conviction is very firm, and not for purely ideological reasons. We believe ... that capitalism cannot be the final stage of society and social development because it fails to solve the problems of humanity. Humankind now faces more difficult problems than ever before and the tendency is that they will grow even more acute. Capitalism does not solve those problems." (S.H.)

The fact that the "ruling ideology and political structure" tries to claim an eternal existence for itself" is, as both point out, a basic feature of historical development: "Every ideology and every system installed by the ruling class is, to a certain extent, forced to regard itself in this way." In order to grasp the situation as it really is and to arrive at a correct analysis "it is certainly useful to take a look at history. ... We find that, in a sense, the problems and the ways forward to solutions have been the same since the beginning of the human race." (A.Ö.)

The starting point of Abdullah Öcalan's view of history is the prehistoric "primitive tribal societies" which, he says, represented "solidarity, fraternity and freedom in its clearest and purest form": "These characteristics have always develop in opposition to the other side of human existence." Base and superstructure and other divisions arise. The concepts of a good God and an evil God continue to exist today in many religions and are expressed in other pairs of concepts: dictatorship and democracy, oppression and freedom, masters and slaves, bourgeoisie and proletariat, etc. Among other possible divisions he mentions the producers of material things and the producers of ideas. (However,

the division between the sexes is not named, nor does he deal directly with the interrelationships of different kinds of social divisions.) "... in the most general terms: good and bad, those acting justly and those acting unjustly. This is the contradictory nature of humankind itself. ... And we can determine scientifically that only the struggle based on these contradictions can lead to progress." From history we can, says Abdullah Öcalan, learn that people never accept their enslavement. As for popular resistance to enslavement: "That always remains alive in people's memories. As we know, it opens the way to utopia, to the ideology of the oppressed." ... "The question is, then: Which of these ideas do people identify with and take as the basis for their struggles. By making these distinctions we actually intensify the contradictions. And that, as we know, underlies the history of a never ending social struggle and the history of socialism." (A.Ö.)

In section the PKK leader deals with the significance of religions, and especially of Islam, in historical development and their relationship with social struggles. His review of history is concluded with appraisals of why Real Socialism failed. But first, let us hear what Shafik Handal has to say on this.

"Real Socialism"

"One thing is quite clear: socialist thought and the concept of socialism must be renewed. The crisis of Real Socialism offers a great deal of material on this. The crisis releases us from dogmatism, makes us use our own heads and analyse our own realities; in other words, we must develop ways forward which have not yet been mapped out." (S.H.)

"From a brief analysis of the upheavals of the October

Revolution and of subsequent events we can conclude that the right wing developed out of the situation. As in every major revolution, here too, it was this side that increasingly gained official power; whether the trend began in the 1930s, the 50s, the 60s or the 80s is not so important and should not distract anyone from the central issue. ... A situation arose in which, acting in the name of the proletariat, bureaucracies developed out of the social remnants of feudal and bourgeois society. Under the banner of Real Socialism all sorts of dogmas were laid down. The slightest criticism was regarded as treachery and repressed, which meant that positive criticism was also eliminated and the class struggle smothered. That led to a mentality which amounted to shutting out the outside world completely and erecting an ideological wall. In fact, the exact opposite was necessary. The capitalist-imperialist system should have been forced to put up its wall against the ideology of freedom. ... We know that Lenin said the October Revolution had largely fulfilled the tasks of the bourgeois revolution. It was, in a sense, a late bourgeois revolution. ... If we then take into account the pressure of the imperialist system and the attacks it mounted from all sides, the outcome becomes somewhat clearer. ... It used to be said in connection with the October Revolution that "we have rapidly turned the existing bourgeois-democratic revolution into Socialism"; and, indeed, socialist measures were taken. On the other hand, the bourgeois-democratic revolution carried on developing and finally proclaimed its victory with Gorbachev and Yeltsin. ... Perhaps there a change in the distribution of forces can now finally come about" and perhaps "the collapse of Real Socialism will harm the cause of capitalism." (A.Ö.)

The way in which the PCS conceives the relationship between (bourgeois) democratic revolution and socialism is portrayed by Shafik Handal as follows: "Socialist society is a democratic society which transcends the limits on democratic possibilities imposed by the capitalist bourgeoisie. And this problem has to be solved in the phase of transition to socialism. We see the democratic transformation as part of the transition to socialism." This refers to the process currently unfolding in El Salvador in which it is hoped that the outcome of talks will serve as a basis for a democratic revolution.

Capitalism is the problem!

"The most important thing to discuss is the fact that capitalism has placed mankind in gravest danger. ... man is now conducting a mighty war against nature. ... That is a fact and the responsibility lies above all with capitalism." (A.Ö.)

"It used to be said that capitalism solves the problems of a part of humanity. We doubt this. The world cannot go on living unpunished when the overwhelming majority of humankind is facing increasingly worse conditions. The First World cannot fashion its own world on this planet, a world which is immune to the social, political and physical diseases of three quarters of humanity. ... I am not only talking about the political aspects, but about every aspect of human existence: environmental destruction, the growing tide of migration and all the related problems; indeed, the drug trade must also be seen as part of the whole. These are major issues, without even mentioning political unrest. The phenomenon of crisis will spread from all the social pores of society. And now that the imperialist states no longer needs to fight against the Soviet

Union or against "socialism", which as a force has ceased to exist, if the First World thinks it has to arm itself in order to conduct a war against the South ... then the reason is clear: it believes that its sacred possessions are threatened by the way in which the majority of humanity lives and dies. (S.H.)

"It is not simply a matter of oppressing a class or a nation. It goes much further. It is also called the North-South conflict or the metropolis-periphery antagonism. But no matter what it is called, the point is that the great majority of humanity is subjected to the attacks of the capitalist metropolises and can no longer breathe freely. ... When we bear all this in mind, we recognize that capitalism is one of the most accursed social systems of all time. When we look carefully at the content of this system, we see that the people become stunted, they are forced to respond to primitive feelings and needs - they are turned into ants. Look at the way the Japanese are transformed into ants, the Europeans into robots, or the Americans into madmen! They are so dehumanised one might need a witness to testify that the types of individuals being created really are human after all!" (A.Ö.)

Renewing and redefining the concept of socialism

"When we now speak of a socialist renewal we have to understand precisely the level of contradiction we are talking about." ... "It is clear that the kind of socialism determined to conquer the present and the future must understand this problem. That is why those who address the current problems of socialism with the intention of solving them can no longer be content to put on its agenda the economic, social and political liberation of the working class, as in the 19th century, or purely the national liberation of oppressed

peoples, as in the 20th century. Of course there is no doubt that the working class today is still oppressed. The struggle for economic rights is being continued. ... And as in the past, there are still dependent and oppressed countries and nations, and they will continue to wage national liberation struggles. However, today socialism can no longer limit itself to these antagonisms: it must do more. With capitalism a technical machine, a monster, was created which brought misery on humanity, ruined nature, destroyed the minds of the people and crushed them into the mould of the consumer society that swallows everything in its path. What Real Socialism produced is not a great deal different. The society of greed and gluttony has become so extreme that people are on the point of tearing each other's eyes out. Morality has virtually collapsed. And with the destruction of morality half of what makes us human disappears." ... "One thing is quite clear: we can no longer combat imperialist capitalism with the literature of the 19th century working class and fight colonialism with those ideological-political weapons. Nor can we go on struggling with the weapons of the national liberation movements of the 20th century. The contradictions have now been raised to a new level and this shift affects the way forward." (A.Ö.)

"The concept of socialism must, in our view, necessarily contain some elements which derive from the analysis of the crisis of Real Socialism and take account of the characteristics of social development in our epoch. A cornerstone of such a concept is our conviction that, in order to renew socialism, socialism must first of all become society's concern, a system in the hands of society and not of the state. Here, we are not referring to the property relations governing the

means of production, but to everything. Socialism must be socialized; by its very nature it must lie in the hands of society as a whole." (S.H.)

The Role of the state ...

"Society must take the initiative in all spheres and be the determining force. Obviously it must be a society without the exploitation of man by man. Moreover, in view of the experiences made in the past one should perhaps add that it must also be a society without the exploitation of man by the state." (S.H.)

"Above all, the work of the victorious revolution must not be guided by the interests of the state. The experience of the Soviet Union teach us very clearly just where that leads to. The revolution must constantly take an internationalist line and not stick to the interests of the nation state. And it must certainly not be directly fused with national state interests." (A.Ö.)

... and the economy

"As for the economic base - i.e. ownership of the means of production - we believe that particularly in countries like ours it would be a mistake to allow only one form of ownership of the means of production. We obviously think that there should be state ownership in certain sectors of the economy, but not exclusively. In the context of ideas about having to socialize socialism a large part of the means of production must naturally be in the hands of society." (S.H.) Abdullah Öcalan does not speak explicitly about the relationship between state and economy in the statement referred to here. However, he does criticize the idea of the economy being the determining factor for the development of a revolutionary perspective. This also has major implications for

the question of the revolutionary subject.

On this issue Shafik Handal says that "the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat ... in Latin America and the Third World doesn't solve any problems. Firstly, because there is no really developed proletariat. That idea is an ideological fiction which does not stand up to debate. Proletarian dictatorship could only be established with authoritarian means and is only realizable if the revolutionary party replaces the proletariat." (S.H.)

Revolutionary subject - class - the New Personality

"In Latin America we have seen that the working class is not the revolutionary class ... If we look at the facts honestly ... then we must recognize that although there have been revolutionary workers everywhere it is not the case that simply being a worker turns one into a revolutionary; rather, we find that workers tend towards economism and reformism. ... What was the pattern of revolutions that have taken place in recent times; who were the protagonists? It was the peasants, intellectuals, revolutionary workers. In other words, there is no revolutionary class per se. How are the revolutionary forces to be forged? That is a problem which has to be solved in the concrete conditions of each particular society, in each country; but certainly not by applying a fixed dogma." (S.H.)

The PCS's concrete ideas on this question are not explained by Shafik Handal. As for Abdullah Öcalan, he sees the task as one of revolutionary organization:

"The most urgent problem is to reverse the slogan of "We are building socialism and transforming the individual". Rather, the slogan must be: We must first create individuals who

can build socialism. ... If we want to achieve socialism then, starting within our own, small nucleus, we must create the people who are to build socialism. After all, if these people don't exist who else is supposed to construct the socialism we desire? Those who are not socialists cannot establish socialism." The PKK attaches great importance to this struggle:

"Today we see very precisely that our greatest anger is directed against ourselves and our fiercest struggle takes place within ourselves. ... In the PKK our socialist personality means we are committed just as much to opposing every kind of oppression, injustice, violence and inequality in human history as we are to changing ourselves, to improving and liberating ourselves in order to lead the struggle and to succeed." ... "Yesterday we expressed this ideas through words and today we do so through our struggle. Today we answer with our struggle - a struggle which from day to day is spreading and becoming increasingly internationalist in character. We are convinced that our struggle will become one of the most successful arms of an enriched socialism. Our struggle is a vanguard for others, in practice taking on the function of an avant-garde." (A.Ö.)

In this approach the party is designated a key role which it no longer has in Shafik Handal's concept. For the latter, the traditional role of parties and trade unions etc. is called into question and new models are sought: "There are an extraordinary number and variety of organizational forms within society, a major trend, a hunger at grass roots level for people to express themselves, to participate in solving their own problems. The answers will only be found in this network." (S.H.)

The Task of the Left

It is "the task of the left to find new concepts, new ways of thinking and new forms of action in order to move forwards. To get out now and retreat into some niche or other, to define oneself as social democratic or something else, will be of absolutely no use. To change your name, and thereby indicate that you intend to be well-behaved from now on, amounts to running away. Yet it is also a retreat if you cling to the old positions in the belief that this might allow you to have a clean conscience, i.e. to declare, "I remain an upstanding supporter of the dictatorship of the proletariat until I die", a believer in socialism in the way it used to be conceived. You have to take up the real challenges in the way they presented themselves and face up to them. There is no other way. The thoughts I have repeated here on the concept of socialism do not claim the status of a finished programme of any kind; rather, they are an expression of the search ..." (S.H.)

"Since, from an international perspective, our task is to continue the development of socialism, then we want to carry out this task with pride. ... Today it has become even more apparent that the contradictions have sharpened in the Middle East and can only be solved by revolutionary methods. For Kurdistan in particular there is no other way out other than revolution. Even to ensure the bare survival of the people there is no other basis other than revolution. After all, to depart from humanity is no salvation! As the concrete expression of a country and of a people, the PKK will continue be just as much a force for the revolution of the national liberation movement as it will for solving the problems of socialism in the Middle Eastern region and at international level ..." (A.Ö.)

FROM *ITALY*

A REPORT

It is not easy to synthesize the situation in Italy today.

The effects of the economic crisis have stricken every sector of the country.

42



Political Parties and Institutions

On the political/institutional side, the government parties (democratic christian, socialist, social-democratic and liberal) have lost at the last national elections (5th of April 1992) and have further lost at the municipality elections in many cities. Also the democratic party of the left (PDS, the old PCI = Communist party) has lost at

these elections partly due to the appearance of its split-off of his left wing: Rifondazione Comunista.

Many of the votes - above all in the North - have gone to the Lega, a new party of demagogic and populist inspiration.

This defeat of the government parties has worsened because of the big judiciary enquiry 'clean

hands' which started in Milan and is going on with about thousand of arrests and incriminations of politicians (the secretary of the Socialist Party, Craxi, e.g.) and industrial managers, above all of public enterprises.

State and mafia

In the meantime the con-

free medical assistance, freezing of the pensions, possibility to fire the public empoles...). In particular the Amato-government has signed an agreement with the unions (CGIL, CISL and UIL) on July, 31st, 1992, which implies the end of the wage-indexation system and the freezing of the negotiation at the level of single factories. All this in a situation where many

the unions have been defended by union militants and by the police against the workers who tried to get the microphone and to speak directly.

As it happened to the institutional parties, the same happened to the historical (traditional) unions (CGIL, bound to the former Communist Party and to the Socialist Party, UIL, bound to the Socialist Party and CISL, bound



frontation between State and mafia has sharpened: Two judges have been killed in Palermo and there have been a lot of arrests. During the summer the army has been dispatched to Sardenia and to Sicily. After the arrest of Totò Riina (the supposed boss of "Cosa Nostra" in Italy) also Giulio Andreotti, the oldest leader of the Democratic Christian Party, has been incriminated for connection with the mafia.

Who pays for the crisis?

The new government, leaded by the socialist Amato, has tried to face this situation of crisis both with institutional reforms (election with the majority system against the old proportional system, direct election of the majors... e.g.) and with an economic manoeuvre (no more

factories are firing the workers because they are shutting down or are transferring their activities to the eastern or southern countries.

At the beginning of September - In contrary to the promises made by the government on 31st of July - the Lira has been devaluated thus worsening the workers' living conditions.

Workers' self-organizing

As a result of this, there have been big blue collar workers' demonstrations against the government in every city. But the same unions which have called up the demonstrations have been also hardly contested. After the attack on Bruno Trentin, leader of CGIL, on a demonstration in Florence, during the successive demonstrations the leaders of

to the Democratic-Christian Party): many members have left. New unions have come into being or grown up, in particular the SLA (self-organized workers union) and the RDB (union base -collective).

During the first month of 1993 there haven't been big demonstrations because the unions have refused to call them up. But there have been many squatted factories, spontaneous struggles, a strong self-organizing of the factory's councils, and the constitution of workers' committees in particular those of Breda and Afla Romeo in Milan and Alfa Sud in Neaples.

Attacks...

In the meantime there have been many attacks against immigrants and against squatted social centres. The

newspapers speak of fascists' attacks, but surely the first aggressions have been carried out by real death squads, for example those in Bologna between 1990 and 1991.

Albania...

Inside the attempt of capitalism

bourgeoisie and the pointing out of the responsibilities of this situation: the principal enemy. Some comrades, especially those bound to the social centres, are bringing forward a strong campaign against the Lega, the Nazi groups and racism. But many others understand that this situation is

and a criminal organization but it is part of the confrontation inside the bourgeoisie: between the one connected to the State and its bureaucratic apparatus and the other connected to the financial and industrial power of the imperialistic European pole. It has to be remembered that the "mafia" has supplied the



to let the proletariat pay the costs of the crisis, there is also the imperialistic role of Italy, which is clearly visible in the case of Albania.

Albania has become a colony of Italy whose inhabitants work for the Italian enterprises there to a wage which is at least 40 times inferior to that of an Italian worker.

Discussion among the revolutionary Left

This new and complex situation has re-opened the debate inside the revolutionary movement in Italy.

The first point in this debate regards the field of the

determined by the internal struggles inside the imperialistic bourgeoisie. In a situation of economic crisis it is a struggle for the survival.

Italy, without natural resources, is historically a country with limited sovereignty, and this has resulted - from 1945 till today - into the domination of the monopolistic groups bound to the US-American imperialism.

Now, with the new global balance of power and the resurrection of the imperialistic poles Japan and Germany, the struggle inside the imperialistic poles has effects on Italy.

For example what is happening in the South of Italy today is not a confrontation between the State

State in the South, above all regarding the repression of the struggles of peasants and the workers (starting from the massacre of Portella delle Ginestre in 1948 against the squatting of the fields).

Also regarding the Lega (which wants the division of Italy in two parts: the North and the South), part of the reasons for its electoral success is resulting from the internal confrontation inside the imperialistic bourgeoisie. The middle-class bourgeoisie bound to the small industry has decided to have a proper autonomous political representation to strengthen its starting position in negotiations with one fraction of the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

It is also a matter of survival because the Italian small industry produces mainly for export towards Europe.

Also the fall and the deviation of the two principal political parties (Christian Democratic Party and Communist Party) depends on the new global balance of power. It is quite evident how the fall of the revisionist party depends on the fall of the 'socialist countries'. As to the DC, till today its strength resided in the confrontation between East and West and in the necessity for the imperialistic bourgeoisie of being political represented by an interclassistic type of party which have a mass consent. Today all this is no longer necessary. In the future the imperialistic bourgeoisie will try to build up parties with a political program more liberalistic concerning economy.

It's no accident that the inquiry "clean hands" hits mainly the public enterprises and the system of public contracts that is to say the patronage system of power running around the Christian Democratic Party and the Socialist Party.

The question of the institutional reforms and the introduction of the majority system is an essential condition to preserve the appearance of democracy inside this situation.

In any case to strengthen its domination the imperialistic bourgeoisie and its government have however not only the means of the institutional engineering but also those of preventive counter-revolution at their disposal. Among these the use of state-terrorism and of death squads. In Italy the mass-murders (Milano 1970, Brescia 1972, Italicus 1974, Bologna 1980, 904 Rapido-train 1984) never aimed at a fascist push but to strengthen the imperialistic bourgeoisie. Today the state-terrorism against immigrants serves to sharpen the problems between them and the Italian workers and to prevent their

unity.

A second point of the debate inside the revolutionary movement in Italy is starting from the popular protest against the economic manoeuvre of the government. In fact all the fraction of the big and the middle-size bourgeoisie-fighting against each other-are agreed to let the proletariat, here and in the South of the world, pay the costs of the crisis.

The evaluations of the blue-collar workers' movement inside the revolutionary left have been very different.

There is a wide development of the spontaneous struggles which have come to the point to contest even the old form of organization (unions), but surely not defeat them. For example the meetings of the self-called-up workers' councils (normally they are called-up by the unions) didn't succeed in calling up a general strike against Amato Government.

In face of this incapability a part of the movement came to the conclusion that nothing positive can result from the movement of self-called-up workers and have accused them of subalternity to the revisionistic unions and has unsuccessfully tried to call up a general strike without previous discussion with the workers' collectives.

A second position inside the antagonistic movement is that favourable to the building up of alternative unions, for example the RDB which succeeded to call up a general strike of

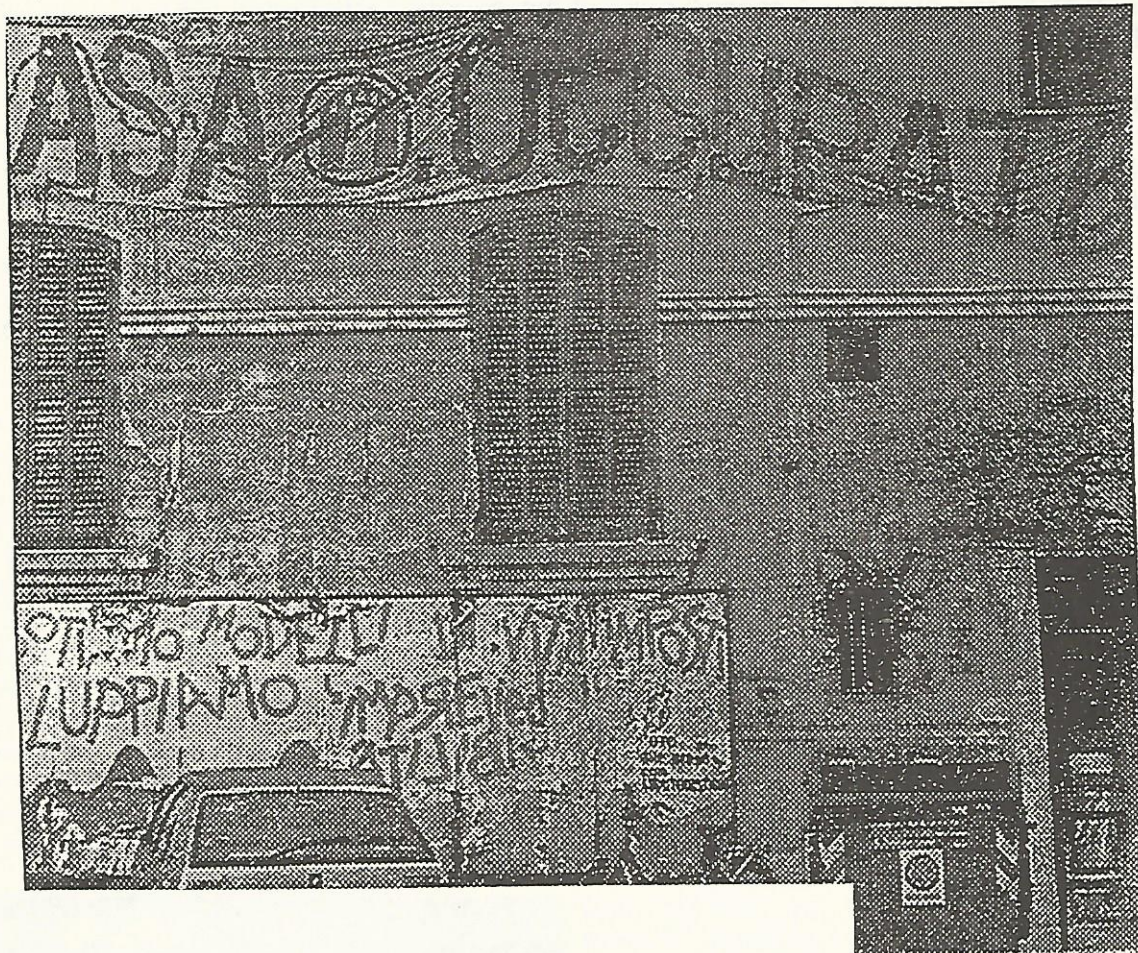
the public workers on October, 2nd in Rome, but its second attempt at the end of October has been a failure in respect to participation.

On our point of view the most correct position is that of those comrades that support the struggles of the workers against the revisionistic organisations and understand that it cannot be easy and on the short period. These comrades affirm that only the workers' mobilization can catalyse and make possible the protest of the whole metropolitan proletariat against the Amato Government.

Concretely this debate has resulted into few "meetings of the self-organization" between September and October, but they have come to nothing because of these different points of view. Starting from this division a "Coordination between struggle situations" was founded in which there are collectives of workers, squatted houses, social centres and students.



They have taken the walls (& the bricks...)



Monday 7th December 1992 at 6:30 am state army troops invaded and devastated the house squatted in Piazza dei Siculi, San Lorenzo, Rome. The squatters, on permanent night guard after an attempted eviction the week before was repelled, had decided to leave by the service entrance so as not to let themselves be found inside. The pewter soldiers, not finding any human flesh, took it out on the rest, and so to satisfy their state of excitement they not only destroyed all the material they found inside the squat (personal belongings, musical instruments, video and photographic equipment etc.) but, being clever assholes, they also devastated the adjacent local committee offices in Via dei Salentini, and beat a member of the FOCSI (an organisation to aid foreigners) who was disturbed from his sleep.

Monday 30th November. Armed with our desires we succeeded to resist their attack, also because we intended to reaf-

firm resistance as an instrument of self-defence and it was necessary to verify this in practice. That morning the whole zone remained in a state of siege for more than 3 hours with teargas and various objects flying. The marginal space, when not in silence, dedicated by the great media machine is indicative of something that does all it can to minimize in the impossibility to criminalize or recuperate democratically. However the message has arrived loud and clear. To resist behind barricades is not only a nostalgic historic sentimental memory, and it is not a suicidal vocation when the conditions of the clash are, at least in the response, constructed and determined by the consciences of those behind the barricades.

The next week the conditions, also in terms of tools of self-defence, had been declared insufficient to confront 'Rambo 2 - The Revenge', and so we left beforehand, managing to bring to safety part of the collective gains built in these years

(the library, the archive centre of documentation and some of the musical instruments).

Squatted on the 2nd of June 1990, we transformed the rotting ex-pharmaceutical laboratories into working space for expressive research and daily life. Home to roughly 20 persons, the squat of Piazza dei Siculi has had approaches and relations with hundreds of friends, comrades and guests. That's all. We are against commemorations. Let's leave it to the state to cry for their dead, we at least will commemorate the death of the state. What we succeeded communicating in these years of existence is what counts, is what we will continue inside other walls or open spaces. We are not beaten nor exhausted because Piazza dei Siculi has always been an instrument, not an objective, because we are not a movement but a group of free individuals without limits.

We do not squat as a profession, we are subversives for the passion.

Disarm authority, arm your desires!
Spreading self-determination in continuous revolt!

This is the communique, translated from Italian, which was issued from the squatters the day after the eviction of the squat "Toto", Piazza dei Siculi in Rome.

Some news:

Saturday 19th Dec. '92 as a consequence of the eviction of Piazza dei Siculi, we have squatted a house in the same district. But this house is much smaller than Piazza dei Siculi and so only some of us will be able to remain here, but it will be used as a base for expansion to other squats.

We're working hard to make the place inhabitable which may take a long time as it is in a very bad state of disrepair. Our project is to continue what we began 2 1/2 years ago in Piazza dei Siculi, self-determined life and work, to create and experiment and to rebuild the workshops, the rehearsal room, the dark room, the

library and infocentre etc.

We will not start again from scratch, but continue from where we have been interrupted. We invite every group or individual who considers self-determination as liberation or growth to pay a visit.

The squatters "Toto",
Via Tiburtina 161, San Lorenzo,
Rome

To send material for our infoshop or to get in touch with us write to:
Toto, c/o Rosso e Nero,
Via dei Piceni 39
00185 Rome
Italy



International

Squatters

Network

We are a group of squatters in Vancouver concerned with the steady growth of homeless and rapid decline of housing. Our governments are more concerned with revenue than housing the people it's supposed to represent. This does not surprise us, but we feel that it's time for us (as homeless) to communicate and organize to put an end to this attitude of housing for profit.

We are trying to establish a network that would enable us to communicate between the cities, providing shelter for travelers who are unfamiliar with a certain place. This would also keep us updated and aware with issues concerning squatters and the struggle for housing.

The short term goals we are trying to achieve are:

To keep squatters aware and organized within and out of cities

To raise awareness and educate the general public

To help squatters with legal difficulties and rights

To produce a quarterly newsletter on rights, info, cracker tips, ideas on locks, heating and other building maintenance etc.

If you, or anyone you know can help with ideas, contact addresses (please use a box address or another safe way of contact) or anything else please write. We're also trying to put together a guide for listings of free services in as many major cities as possible, so if you have any listings please let us know. Anything would be appreciated. THANKS!

International Squatters Network
1237 Richards St.
Vancouver B.C.
V6B 3G3 Canada

A Letter from the Spanish State

Hello, a revolutionary salute!

Antimilitarism.

We received your letter and the number 6 of Clash some days ago. Please, excuse us for not writing you but in the future we hope that the communication and correspondence between us and you will be habitual.

We don't speak and write very well in English, and we can't translate all the material that you say you want. We have very much information and publications about Insumision**, armed struggle of ETA and Basque liberation national movement, prisoners, antiracism and antifascism, libertarian movement, squatters, General Strike, workers struggles etc. etc. If you can translate it to English, we can send you all you want.

We think that the magazine is a very good idea and that a medium of communication and discussions between the different revolutionary movements is very important.

About the Expo we can send you a dossier in Spanish that documents very well the things that happened here in April '92. After the successes in April, there wasn't happening very much anymore and the actions against the Expo decreased.

We are very far away from the discussions in Germany or in Holland, here in the Spanish State. Things are different here. The debate isn't the same and the composition and organization of the revolutionary movements are very different to the ones in Germany, Holland, etc. The principal fields of action of the revolutionary people in Spain are: the workers' struggles, antimilitarism and the Insumision, and in less measure, antifascism, antiracism and the squats. In the actual context, antifascism and antiracism are getting more and more important for the revolutionary people.

There are 2.500 insumisos in the Spanish state, near of 1.500 thereof are from Euskadi. The movement is now in a moment of crisis. The sentences of the trials have confused too many people. Some of the last sentences were favourable to the insumiso judged. There are about 15 insumisos in prison, the majority of them are in controlled liberty or in the third grade (they go out of the prison for the day and sleep in prison at night). Lately, there were many trials with contradictory sentences. In some the sentences were less than one year and the insumiso wouldn't be imprisoned (in the Spanish state the sentences less than one year don't have to be served in prison), and in others the sentences are of two years and six months, then the insumiso is imprisoned. There are two interpretations of this, one is positive because the contradictions of the legal system can make the movement stronger and the number of insumisos can grow larger; but another view is negative because the trials and the sentences can carry the movement to a legal field, making the antimilitarist character of the struggle weaker, after all we are against this militarist justice and we don't have to accept any sentence. In this moment there are four insumisos in clandestinity because they don't accept the sentence and they think that imprisonment does not help anything in the good development of the Insumision. There is a part of the movement that is against the presentation in trials of the insumisos that have to be judged. This part is a minority, the majority of the movement follows the strategy of the presentations in trials and prisons when the sentence has been pronounced.

.....
Spanish state:

In the spanish state, among left wing radicals the name "Spain" is not used, because they feel that they are not one homogenous nation, but people from Euskadi, Catalonia, Andalusia,..... and that the spanish state holds these nations in a colonial way under its control.

Insumision, or Insumisoa:

Total refusal. At the end of the eighties in the spanish state the compulsory term in the army is introduced, after a referendum about the entry of spain into the EC had only just come through. But in the spanish state the memory of fascism and of the role that militarism played in that, is too fresh to be taken without contradictions. Many people refuse every way of serving in the military -also the 'civilian' alternative-, mostly out of political motifs, but some also on religious grounds. That is why the number of total refusers is also much much larger than in other european states. Only since 1991 has the state tried to break this movement, with sharp repression (like long prison sentences).

The last trial we had in our region (Asturies), the insumiso decided to present, and the sentence was favourable. At the moment of the trial there was a concentration to support the action of the insumiso and during the trial there were declarations in his favour from some intellectuals, sindicalists and destacated members of parliamentary "leftist" parties.

Strikes and the workers struggles.

The last general strike was on May 28, 1992 (in Euskadi it was on the 27th) and was convocated against the antisocial policy of the "socialist" government. Concretely against the "Decretazo", that is a law-decrate that restricts the subsidy of the unemployed, and against the Ley Corcuera. The general strike was controlled by the burocratic and reformist unions and the actions of the revolutionary workers and of the radical unions (CNT, LAB(Euskadi), CSI (Asturies)) didn't have much importance. In the metal sector and the miners, the strike was for 24 hours and was followed by all workers. In Euskadi the strike was for 24 hours and was followed by the majority of the people. In some regions like Asturies or Andalucia, the anarchosindicalist union CNT and some revolutionary and minority unions convocated a strike for 24 hours against the government policy and against official reformist union policy too. The official unions (CC.OO, UGT) are the principle culpable of the crisis of the movement of workers and of the crisis of the class positions and conscience.

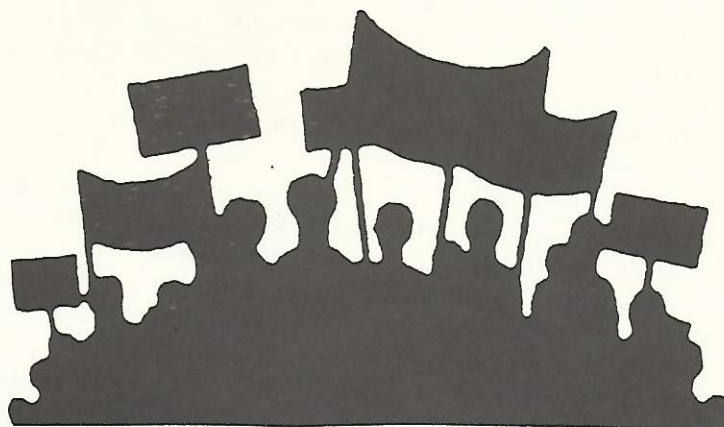
Now, in the Spanish state the capital is in a process of restructurization and reconversion, a process that is realized on a european level.

Many* factories, important factories are destroying many sectors and sections that aren't necessary to the perspectives of the capitalists and the State. Many state industries, like HUNOSA (mining), Ensidesa (metal), Ahv etc. etc: important industries that employ many people and that during years and years were the only job for the working class of entire regions are sentenced to disappear.

During the last months, workers of Ensidesa (Asturies), Acenor, Ahv (Euskadi) and workers of industries in Cartagena carried out many actions of protests, barricades, bridlings with the police, sometimes these brindlings were very hard and there were wounded (obviously, workers). The agriculture sector is in a grave crisis too, and the producers of many agricultural products are in continuous mobilization, demonstrations and manifestations. This crisis reproduces a situation of precarious employment and less wages, more hours of work, especially for the young people without a specific qualification. The antisocial policy of the PSOE government makes this situation worse. In the Spanish state you have to work for one year to obtain the social subsidy, but the majority of jobs for young people who have never worked before are for 3 months only, and some jobs are illegal and without contract.

Repression

On the other hand, the repressive control of the state has to it all the fascist character of Orwell's novel '1984'. The Corcuera law (citizen "security" law) is a clear example of this. The Corcuera law gives to the repressive corps of the state the most authority it has ever





known (including the fascist dictatorship of Franco). They can detain you or come in your house without any accusation against you. This law was applied during the General Strike in May, and is a continuation of the infamous "antiterrorist" law.

Armed struggle.

Well, it is difficult and polemic to talk about this. At this moment the collectives and organizations that follow this strategy are diminished of militants and support.

ETA

The organization with the most support and militants are ETA, its armed struggle is sometimes indiscriminate but the majority of the revolutionary and nationalist movement in Euskadi support it. During the Olympic Games ETA offered a truce of 2 months to initiate a process of dialogue and negotiation with the State about leaving the armed struggle and to resolve the problems that are planteated in Euskadi. But the state didn't accept this truce and ETA continued to fight in the armed way. Some days ago ETA killed two "Guardias civiles" (repressive corps that is characterized by its clearly fascist ideology) in Oyarzun (Euskadi), thereby ending the truce.

The collaboration of the French state with the Spanish state in the repression against ETA militants and basque refugees in France have hit hard upon the inner structure of ETA and on the support movement in French-Euskadi. In the last months many important and historical leaders of ETA have been arrested and imprisoned in France (Pakito, Artapalo, Fiti, Txelis etc.). In the Spanish state there were many detentions of militants and collaborators and symphatizers of ETA during the last months too.

Euskadi is a conflict zone for the State and repression is constant. Each week there are manifestations, concentrations, bomb explosions (these actions are carried out by revolutionary nationalistic groups and militants that don't belong to ETA or other armed organizations) against banks or against French establishments in solidarity with the political prisoners and the refugees in France.

On the day that I am writing this letter there were riots in some cities in Euskadi, because it was the first anniversary of the killing of an ETA militant called "Turko" by the Ertzantza (Autonomous police in Euskadi). In April the basques political prisoners of Salto del Negro (a prison on the Canarian Islands) carried out a hungerstrike for respect for human rights in this prison. In May these prisoners started a thirst strike and in June they made a deal with the prison director.

In April too the Basque prisoners in Ceuta prison realized a hunger strike during 39 days. The hungerstrike finished with an accord between the prison director and the prisoners. During these hungerstrikes there were many sabotages, manifestations, multitudinary manifestations, hungerstrikes of nationalistic militants etc. all in solidarity with the prisoners.

Tierra Lliure

In Catalunya there is another armed organization called Tierra Lliure. They are nationalistic and socialists. The majority of militants of Tierra Lliure are imprisoned and some of them have abandoned the armed struggle. In the time of preparation of the Olympic Games there were detained many nationalistic militants accused of belonging to Tierra Lliure. They were tortured but they didn't belong to this armed organization. Now, practically Tierra Lliure doesn't exist anymore in the practice.

GRAPO

About the GRAPO. they are in a process of reorganization. The situation of the GRAPO and PCE(r) prisoners is terrible. They are in isolation and incommunication. they have very little support because their strategy in the revolutionary way is very dogmatic. But they are very revolutionary and in the prison they don't accept any individual releases. except for the sick prisoners. There are some GRAPO militants imprisoned that are very sick because of the hungerstrike of 2 years ago. The government doesn't let these prisoners go because they are revolutionary prisoners that didn't leave the armed struggle strategy.

The last armed action of the GRAPO was two months ago near to Barcelona. it was a sabotage against an electricity plant.

It is important for the development of the support to the prisoners that all the collectives. groups and organisations take conscience of this situation and make this struggle. the struggle for the liberty of the prisoners. as one more part of the revolutionary struggle.

Anarchist prisoners

There are two anarchists prisoners in the Spanish State. One is Pablo Serrano. imprisoned since 1984. He is a worker militant that executed a member of the patronal in Zaragoza. He is accused of an attempted bomb attack against the patronal house in Zaragoza too. He is active in the prison struggles and the government and prison direction doesn't give him a permission to go out of prison. even though he has the right to get it by the legal system of prison policy.

The anarchosindicalist organisation CNT-AIT and many libertarian and autonomous collectives are realizing a solidarity campaign with Pablo.

The other anarchist prisoner is Andres Torrijos and his situation is similar to Pablo's. He is imprisoned since 1982 and the prison director doesn't give him the permission to go out. He is accused of a riot in the Huesca prison and for this he is refused the permission. He carries on a dynamic struggle in prison. like nobody else. The first time that he was in prison was in 1968 when he was only 15 years old. He has a sentence of 30 years.

The 29th of May there were many concentrations in front of Spanish embassies in several European cities in solidarity with Pablo and the anarchist prisoners in the Spanish state.

If you want contact with Pablo you can write to:

Pablo Serrano. AVDA/AMERICA 80.
50007 Zaragoza
Spain.

If you want contact with Andres write to:

Andres Torrijos Artes
Apdo de Correos.
500 (Brians)
MARTORELL (BARCELONA)
SPAIN

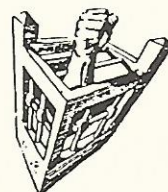
For more information about the liberation national movement of the Basque county write to:

EUSKADI INFORMACION
APDO 1005
DONOSTIA (GIPUZKOA)
(SPAIN)

For more information about the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) write to:

ACPG
Apartado de correos no. 5244
VIGO. GALIZA
SPAIN

REVOLUTION NOW!!



JUAN MANUEL PEREZ HERNANDEZ IN PRISON FOR 14 YEARS



Señalado con un círculo, Juan Manuel Pérez Hernández, junto con otros militantes de los GRAPO durante su reclusión en la Prisión de Almería hace 4 años.

For reasons of isolation in prison and separation from his comrades and as a result of the long hungerstrike he had hold out together with his comrades more than one and a half year JUAN MANUEL, according to the doctors examinations, is suffering from the following symptoms:

*An irreversible proces of dementia senilis (so-called senile mental deficiency) which is resulting in complete self-isolation. He is speaking to nobody, is spending days lying in bed, isn't getting up.

*He is suffering from suddenly appearing, alternating phases of euphoria, depressiveness and aggressive-ness. He seems absentminded and is showing auto-destructive tendencies, endangering his life at any time.

*As a result of his isolation in the prison ward of Meco Prison the worsening of his condition is predetermined. One morning at 8 o'clock the warders found him in the bath tub, where he had stayed the whole night.

**40 YEARS OLD TELECOMMUNICATION ENGINEER
MARRIED, ONE DAUGHTER
COMMUNIST MILITANT
SENTENCED TO 30 YEARS IN PRISON
FOR HIS MILITANCY AS A MEMBER OF GRAPO
IMPRISONED SINCE OCTOBER 1979
THIS IS PSOE's "SOLUTION"
IN FACE OF THE RESISTANCE AND THE
EXAMPLARYNESS OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS:
HIS ANNIHILATION!
HE HAS TO BE RELEASED!**

FREEDOM FOR JUAN MANUEL PEREZ HERNANDEZ

(POLITICAL PRISONER OF GRAPO)

The political prisoners of PCE (r) and GRAPO have ended their 435 days long hunger-strike for more than one year. With this struggle they wanted to gain re-regroupement and have risked their life in this struggle.

Jose Sevilliano (Sevi) died in the sixth month of this hungerstrike. The other political prisoners haven't lost their lives but PSOE's (governing 'socialist' party) attempt to murder their political identity - to treat them bound to their beds with forced feeding for so long time - has left irreversible physical and psychical damages to nearly all of them. This fact was pointed out by doctors, acknowledged human rights representatives who have visited the prisoners, the Red Cross and other organizations as a result of the hungerstrike.

PSOE doesn't mind because that's exactly what they want to reach: To spare the prisoners life and to be absolutely sure that serious damages, as a possibility to force them to retirement by any chance, will remain. But on the other hand the political prisoners have been completely aware of the hunger-strikes consequences: Of possible health damages they are now suffering from as well as of the possibility to die.

Today it has become obvious which sacrifices it takes to live in PSOE's prisons: Many are in wheel-chairs, others have to observe a strict diet because their stomachs cannot take normal diet, others are suffering from severe muscle pains or have lost the feeling for articulation etc..

Nevertheless PSOE's sum doesn't work out. The news we got from the prisons since the end of the hunger-strike are marked by an attitude of resistance, of struggle for a better future without any individual self-interest.

This is valid by one exception: Juan Manuel Perez Hernandez, political prisoner of GRAPO. During the hunger-strike he had several cardiac arrests and several brain cells have died, so that today he is suffering from irreversible dementia (so-called senile mental deficiency). According to Balmón, an other political prisoner of PCE (r), Juan has extremely severe pains and troubles. Balmón wrote us a letter in which he urged us strongly to do something for his release:

"I have been with Juan Manuel in the hospital ward and talked to the doctor in attendance. He told me that Juan Manuel had spent the night in the bath tub 'till he had been found there during the morning control at 8 o'clock. Juan Manuel told me he is o.k. but..."

The doctor confirmed what I was told before by the prisoners living together with Juan Manuel. He is suffering from irreversible dementia. The facts I know are his obsession with bath, his self-isolation (he talks to no-one and spends days in bed), he is writing no letters and when the doctor asks him he doesn't get up. The doctor says Juan Manuel have no physical troubles hindering him to get up and have suddenly appearing alternating phases of euphoria, depressiveness and aggressiveness. I was shocked seeing him lying in bed seeming absolutely absent-minded, without any aura...The doctors say every morning they fear to find him suffocated. In hospital they are doing their utmost although they cannot do anything. Here in Meco he isn't transferred to normal execution because he isn't able to live a "normal life" and at the hospital ward he is alone, absolutely self-secluded, without any diversion and he expresses no wishes.

I fear he starts to get mad and his insanity will worsen. I'm completely shattered of my impression of him.

HEAVEN AND EARTH HAVE TO BE MOVED FOR HIS RELEASE. SOLIDARITY AND HUMANITY IS A DUTY!

As long as his condition isn't worsening he is still able to live a life in minimal dignity in his daughters and his family's safety; but if he has to stay in prison further on he will lose consciousness.

With all the pain, in this superhuman struggle they have destroyed something very important of this man.. What helplessness, what pain in soul. In face of him I couldn't cry because he is still serving his sentence. One has to do something before they have destroyed him completely. This is my opinion, this is my conviction and it is urgent."

We can't allow them to destroy Juan Manuel. We have to move, we have to bring this facts to the public eye, we have to send cables and postcards to the minister of justice and demand Juan Manuel's immediate release. WE HAVE TO CONCENTRATE ALL OUR EFFORTS ON SNATCHING JUAN MANUEL FROM THE JAWS OF THE FASCIST BEAST.

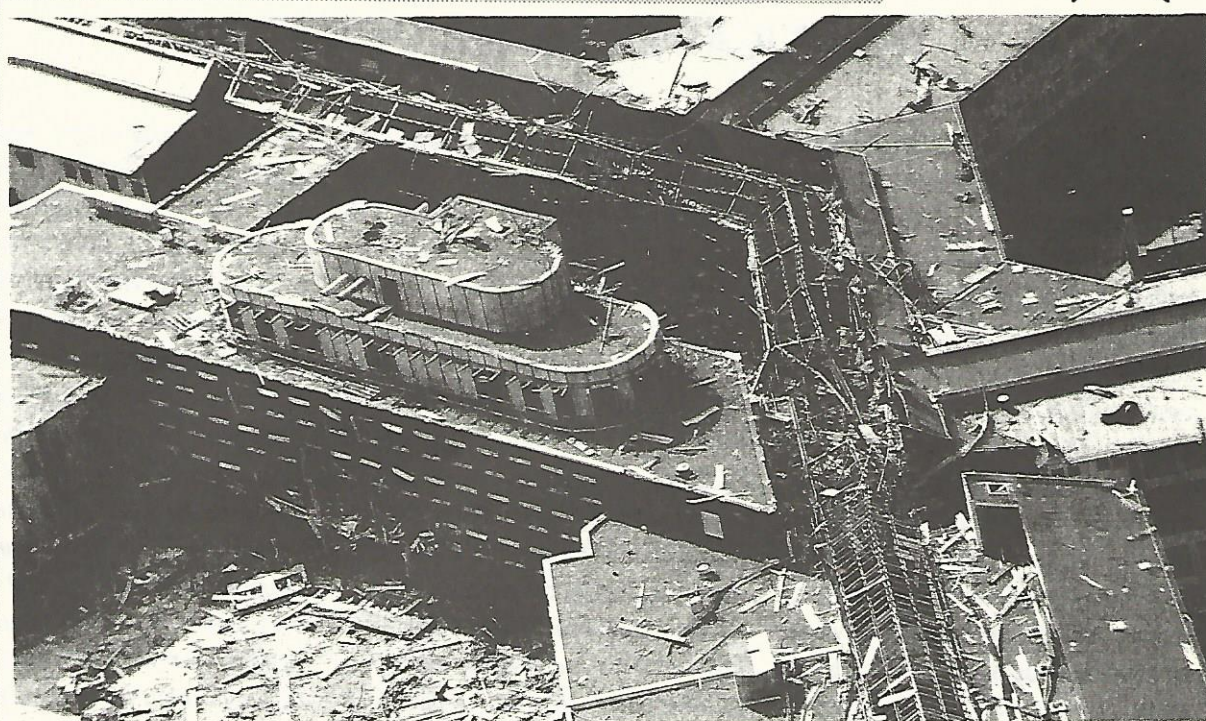
SOLIDARITY AND HUMANITY IS OUR DUTY!!!

AFAPP

Address for demanding JUAN MANUEL PEREZ HERNANDEZ RELEASE by sending cables and postcards:

SR. MINISTRO DE JUSTICIA
C/ SAN BERNADO, 45
28015 MADRID
SPAIN

PRISON BOMBED



Declaration of the Red Army Fraction on the bombing of a HighTech-Prison

Nothing has changed about our need and desire to make the break in our history which we have made. We are aiming for a process in which social counter-power from below can be developed and out of that a new concept of the revolutionary process of radical change. A discussion is needed about this, in which the most different people meet and build a new basis and common criteria for this process. It's about building a social counter-power that can make a significant contribution in a new international fight for the overthrow of the destructive capitalist conditions.

It's a matter of fully grasping the changed international and inner-social reality and to sort out "the whole bag of term-rubbish (of the left) ..." Only by a deep analysis and discussion will it be possible to get an idea of how the conditions can be changed revolutionarily. And only from that process can the questions about the means of struggle and the concrete forms of organization be answered.

To us that process still has the highest priority. The necessity can be felt in every moment you look at the rapid destructive development of the capitalist system. This

system has produced the marginalization, the material and social misery and the deaths of millions of people in the so-called third world. Today the development of the progressive fundamental crisis of this system has reached a point where the destruction of the material basis of life in the metropolises [= northern capitalist countries, trans.] can no longer be suppressed. Social and material misery here has also become reality to more and more people. And many feel that the only perspective for themselves in this system is hopelessness. In this situation the lack of a socially meaningful alternative as a social power has catastrophic effects.

While the state promotes and stirs up the spreading out and escalation of the fascist and racist mobilization of the society by its calculated malicious campaign against refugees and for example, succeeded in canalizing most of the contradictions breaking open in a reactionary direction, on our side the situation is still marked by isolation and desorganisation.

Last August (1992) we wrote a text in which we reflected our history and at the same time traced criteria and thoughts for the

future; thoughts that developed from our analysis over the last few years. These thoughts to us are starting points in the discussion we want to have. Of course new questions and thoughts came along. Although we didn't get much response to our paper it is our desire to develop this discussion further and to make it more precise.

Parts of the women movement criticized us for having gone little into discussions that were very important to parts of them, like the discussion on racism. Also because things started to happen very fast; e.g., like in Rostock, it became urgent to us to discuss this more precisely.

Although we still consider the aggravation of living conditions and the spreading lack of perspective as well as the failure of the left as a real force as one reason for the run on the fascists, on the other hand, it's also clear that the reason must be rooted deeper as to why here in the metropole, in the new Greater Germany, the discontentment is taken out on the refugees to such an extent. Everyone has to think about that very carefully like a Mocambiquanian said: bac! home people also are poor but they still do

not beat their neighbour.

So the debate on racism will surely be an important part in the building up of a counter-power from below - and it can't be discussed only in the ghetto (= radical left resistance) and not by dissociating from others, but has to be question to own consciousness, how everyone want's to be and which social development man/woman wants.

In it's book "history, racism and the boat" the autonomous I.u.p.u.s. - group criticizes the fact that there have been made mistakes in the past like this: "Today it seems very natural and well-practised to discuss racism, the 'specific German' or the German uniqueness but during the last 20 years it was as natural to the revolutionary left to ignore it... What went impossible in the left discussion on patriarchy seemed to be conspicuously easy in the matter of being German: we haven't got nothing to do with that"

Today chances are big to do many things different and to find out new approaches and ideas: the question to build up a counter-power from below is not exclusively for the white German left but is also a question how people who live here can organize together. And the population comprises people of the most differing nationalities and skin colours. "The dialogue with black women doesn't have to take place in foreign countries but is/ could be possible in a much easier and more intense way with women living in FRG. The history of female migrants and their knowledge from the countries they come from is as important to understand international connections as their political opinions and experiences with racism and the other sexism they face here, to understand FRG-society..." (from : 'basta' - women against colonialism).

"...it was the '68 - movement that made the left, it's values, culture and continuity vivid and legitimate in West-Germany again - a left that after the Jewish people had been persued and eradicated most cruelly by fascism. And when fascism today gets strong again then it extends in the political-cultural vacuum that this left has left behind during it's retreat from responsibility for the whole society and for setting up values and outlooks" (Lutz Taufer, prisoner of the RAF)

It's an assignment of the left to put up and live new values in it's practice, otherwise in society only that will burst out what 500 years of colonialism caused to the consciousness of metropolitan population: racist ideology. Since 500 years white masters-race consciousness has been a condition for the colonialist and imperialist exploitation of peoples in the so-called third world. Out of this history it exists in the minds of the white metropole population and in times of crisis gets openly mobilized by state and capital.

Racism means categorizing people in "different" and "more-" or "less" valuable.

In that way always those are categorized who are no longer needed in capitalist production process or are to be exploited even harder.

The destruction of social relations among people is the precondition of racism. This destruction means that on the base of capitalist system, 24-hours-daily life of efficiency and competition people got robbed own criterias and got them replaced by values functional to the capitalist system - most efficiently in the metropolises. This turns out for instance in the relation towards work and performance as values that define the worth of a person: without work you are nothing...to most people it's got normality spending the whole life in a completely predetermined rhythm and under stress in which there is no space for creativity and living joy.

It turns out in the fact that in this system all things become merchandise. The relation towards the attitude to our body too, whereby women are forced at most to display their body as merchandise, which is consumed by men or just refused...

The precondition of capitalist system's ruling over people has always been to put thousands of divisions among people with these kinds of criterias: the division into worthy or inferior people; into efficient and "workshy"; into black and white; into men and women; old and young; sick, weak, handicapped and strong, healthy; into clever and "stupid".

This process of destruction today has reached a dimension in which society is changing into a state of inner lashing out. Racist consciousness as well as the destructive process within society in general only can be abolished or reversed in struggles which create social relationships and values and translate them into action. A perspective of revolutionary development only will be imaginable again in such processes.

Either the left - and with this term we mean all who look for ways how to push through life in human dignity here and all over the world - succeeds in creating a new departure which has it's effects into society, or the "departure" stays at the right, fascist side.

Either a grass-roots movement from below is developed by our side which is determined by solidarity and justness, by fighting social coldness, perspectivelessness and poverty, or exploding contradictions will remain destructive furtheron and violence will escalate one against another.

There are left people who do not want to think about those questions for social development as we and others have asked for because it's said to be reformist. Such fictitious discussions about revolutionary / reformist don't have any use concerning

new determination of revolutionary politics; and also nobody will find answers to today existing questions by confirming each other that revolution has to be international and it's banal - it has no use for anyone, not even for peoples in the South of the East.

The actual questions are more far-reaching, namely how a social counter-power can be build up which is actually able to participate as a relevant force in international discussions and struggles, out of experiences and progresses made by its own. In this sense the reproach that we weren't looking for a new determination in an international context any longer, as regards content is just as superficial as absurd.

It is an old way of approaching of the German left to pounce on other people's efforts to look how it's possible to tear it up (or if it's better to subscribe to it). The positive thing of the old rubbish's booming in the discussions within the radical Left since 10 - April last year - such as competitive and delimited way of thinking or holding tensely the old ways of approaching - is that now, when it's so openly existing, it can be outgrown finally.

The precondition for new determining of revolutionary politics is the gathering, organizing and acting of people who really want to know something from each other and want to permit and to develop new ideas.

Since we took back the escalation from our side one year ago, the state partly has even sharpened the persecution of progressive people being political opponents to this system: attempts to break isolation by fighting for space to build up another development still are massacred. Outstanding example was the attempt to stop the congress against the world economic summit in Munich from the start to make impossible an international discussion as well as the encirclement of the demonstration.

Antifascist organization is criminalized and antifascist demonstrations as in Mannheim in summer last year are beaten up. Of course there is a context between massacring of self-determined attempts, persecution and imprisonment of antifascist and growing fascist mobilization.

The ruling know that all measures to which they are forced due to the crisis will sharpen inner contradictions - dismantling of social welfare system, increasing need of housing, increasing unemployment, steel crisis, crisis of car manufacturing - Reuter, Daimler Benz chief, assumes a 30 to 50 years long crisis according to "Spiegel" [a German weekly review, trans.] - all that is to be passed on the population. At the same time the state has to manage a somehow natured mobilization for Greater Germany. For instance there have been covered military deployments of German armed forces again

and again - like in the war against Iraq and the Kurdish people - but in perspective the Greater German state is keen on another dimension and on a bigger acceptance of Germany as military power also here in the interior.

Then there is hardly left something else than a racist, white mobilization of "German citizens" in one boat what could be able to hold together this society in the ruling capitalist interest.

As they so pass racist foreigner and asylum laws on the one hand and have pushed refugees onto "the problem of Germany" very well aimed people's minds, and in that way just have caused fascist mobilization to this extent, on the other hand they become patron of demonstrations against 'hostility to strangers' as in Berlin end of last year at the same time. By that way also the indignation of people at the fascist thugs and killers shall be canalized and functionalized for this state. It has been rushed through the medias for weeks: violence was at stake, violence from left side as from the right side, to prevent developing a movement of international solidarity of oppressed people against the ruling and their fascist thugs. At the same time when foreign, handicapped and homeless people are attacked daily and only in 1992 seventeen people died by that, Kohl [=the chancellor, trans.] stood there and talked about extremism of the left and the right which has to be fought.

The rulings' jubilation about socialist states-system break-down and about the "great victory" of capitalist system has stopped for a while - This development has turned capitalist system in its deepest crisis. They have no answer to this crisis - but this doesn't mean that nevertheless they wouldn't try to regulate the situation by inhuman plans and measures wherever they still are able to.

It seems the only thing they are shure about is to fight the left. Everyone shall be massacred who's aim is an antifascist and antiracist mobilization from below and who is against the ruling interests. They want to prevent all starting-points where people organize themselves for solving the problems in solidarity and from below.

Above that the state is leading a campaign of revenge against the old communists and antifascists. This has turned out exemplary in the trial and the imprisonment of Gerhard Bögelein, till they had to set him free short time before his death.

Every experiences of resistance developed in this century shall be eradicated. And exactly this attitude is appearing in the state's handling towards our imprisoned comrades too.

We have often been criticized of having connected in the declaration of last years

april our decision for a break with the situation of the prisoners or rather with the state's annihilation attitude in general.

However we have always explained this ceasure in our history by the necessity to develop new fundaments and have said that this necessity is existing independent of the state's acting. But right from the beginning we have been aware of if we take away pressure from our side, it's uncertain how the state will react. That's why by our threat we have kept open the possibility to intervene where it is necessary to lay down limits for state's extermination attitude. In august '92 we wrote:

"We'll determine the armed intervention as a moment of restrain then and not as further strategy. So we'll not simply return to former status quo. An escalation like that is not in our interest. But the state has to know that on our side there are the means, the experience and the determination to call them to responsibility, if the state doesn't permit any other possibility."

It's nonsense to say that by this we would have depended ourselves respectively the development of revolutionary policy to the situation of the prisoners. But it's also a fact that our step e.g. has effects on how the state is handling the question of the political prisoners' freedom. It's a contradictory situation. We have to handle with it and be able to act in it. Finally we don't live in a vacuum.

After we had taken away pressure by our side the state has decided another time on escalation concerning the prisoners. The judgement against Christian Klar and the new trial flood in general are to cement the sentence for life for many; The decision not to set free Bernd Rösner completely; With the refusal reasons of prisoners' release applications state security court has come to the point of trying to force prisoners psychological examinations. In that way they are supposed to admit their struggle, their departure as well as their system opposition being madness.

The prisoners shouldn't become regrouped, otherwise they might intervene in discussions and social processes. And even less they shall be free. They still shall be annihilated and their experiences of struggles shall be kept away from others. It's absolutely clear that a political decision of the state is required to get from annihilation attitude against the prisoners to a political handling towards the prisoners question. But the political level has passed on this question to the state's security courts, which even less will take a decision politics isn't willing to take.

Of course there are thousand unsolved questions and a discussion in solidarity has hardly started. A discussion wherein it is possible to learn together of the experiences made in last 25 years' struggles, to take

conclusions for the future and to develop common criterias for new ideas for the radical change process. But there are principles and self-evidences not to have be called into question, we just take as our basis: E.g. the relation towards our imprisoned comrades and the fact that the state has been torturing political prisoners in conditions of isolation for 22 years; We are struggling for the freedom of these prisoners.

We won't say: Now we are looking for a new strategy and what will happen to them in the meantime doesn't fit into our concept now. We cannot look at a new beginning, the development of new ideas regardless from the question of how to win the freedom of the prisoners being arrested in these 22 years of struggle. They have been in isolation / small group isolation for 22, 18... years. It's no question: They have to be free now!

In our view the question if the freedom of all political prisoners can be pushed through by a common effort of all left-wing and progressive people has also importance considering our capability to really be able of building up a strong and self-confident force which is counter-power to the dominating conditions in this phase. Who is helplessly or with shrugged shoulders accepting that the prisoners are being continuously subjected to this torture because he/she thinks that compared to them, our side is too weak, how could he/she believe in our ability to build up a force that will radically change the conditions?

We have blown up the prison in Weiterstadt with our commando Katharina Hamerschmidt and thereby have prevented the imprisonment of people there. With this action we want to contribute to the political pressure that is able to break the harsh attitude against our prisoners and to force back the state at this point. But to push through their freedom the most different and diverse initiatives of many are necessary. Last year we had tried to keep political pressure at that point from our side despite the break, by the threat. But the possible effect and limit has been unfortunately dismantled systematically especially by radical left comrades.

By our action we have created this pressure again and made the threat topical. We think it is possible to make a use of it.

"We demand the closing of the prison Weiterstadt. Weiterstadt is designed as deportation prison and build on contaminated area..." (out of a discussion paper from prisoners in Stuttgart-Stammheim, Sept. 1991)

Weiterstadt prison is exemplary for the states attitude to handle with the contradictions breaking out and worsening: Against more and more people prison, prison, prison. As deportation prison it is exemplary for the states racist refugee-

policy.

In its technological perfection of isolation and differentiation of imprisoned people it is model for Europe.

Besides Berlin-Plötzensee Weiterstadt was the second completely new designed High-Security prison in FRG. Weiterstadt with its high-security section for women is presented by terms like "Wohngruppenvollzug" [penal system with small groups of prisoners 'living' together in one section, trans.] as "most humane prison" in FRG. But behind this terms however a scientifically further developed concept for isolation, differentiation and complete controll of the prisoners is concealed. It is the principle of rewarding and punishment in high-tech manner that shall force the prisoners to disciplination and subjugation and shall achieve the "assistance" in breaking themselves in the end.

The electronic observation system has surely been the most expensive and perfect one in whole Europe. Every expression and move of the prisoners should be controlled and used for evaluations for the psychological programs. To destroy every striving of solidarity, friendship and self-determined organizing.

"Before the prisoners are distributed on the several Wohngruppen they are passing the admission section. There a staff of psychiatrists will investigate the prisoners in relation to their conformity willingness and will to resist. Depending on the results the distribution of the prisoners between the several Wohngruppen is determined. The Wohngruppen are graded hierarchically. Beginning from uncompromising and uncooperative ones up to conformist prisoners. The aim: A prisoners' "career" by rising from the lowest (= most uncompromising) to the highest (=most conformist) Wohngruppe." (taken from: Infopaper of 'Bunte Hilfe', Darmstadt) One of the women from Plötze [Prison in Berlin-Plötzensee, trans.] who have struggled for abolishment of "Wohngruppenvollzug" with a hungerstrike, wrote about it: "The situation is characterized by a level of control and repression that is hardly imaginable in its totality. Plötze is architectonically and personally designed in a way that a contact among women even cannot take place or is noted in every detail. The women are packed in isolated compulsory groups. They are choosed according to their will to adjust and how they get each other down best. The sound-isolated cells have an intercom that allows an acustic control at any time. The section-corridors are filled with cameras and the group-room where the prisoners meet each other during their spare-time is glazed. In short - the perfect control of every expression of life..."

Judiciary wanted to attune prisoners of other prisons to their transfer to Weiterstadt by the lie of the "most humane prison". They ignored the many demands of the prisoners in Frankfurt-Preungesheim for years refering to the possibility of being transfered to Weiterstadt in 1993. But what has the demand for taking-off the brutal concret view blinds to do with Weiterstadt? Nothing. Not even the claim Weiterstadt will change the situation of overcrowding in Preungesheim is in accordance to reality. (Overcrowding has been included in the plans for Weiterstadt 'right from the beginning) This claim has the propagandistic aim to hush up the fact that they are building more and more prisons (Preungesheim shouldn't be closed down but builded up again), make more detention rooms and arrest more and more people. This is their respond on the social development. The building of prisons is no solution for the prisoners (in Preungesheim). Their demands have to be fulfilled - Prisons have to be pulled down.

FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS !

RELEASE OF ALL HIV-INFECTED PRISONERS !

RELEASE OF ALL REFUGEES IN REMAND DEPENDING DEPORTATION !

CLOSURE OF ALL ISOLATION SECTIONS !

WE GREET EVERYONE FIGHTING IN PRISON FOR THEIR HUMAN DIGNITY -

IN PREUNGESHEIM, SANTA FU, PLÖTZENSEE, RHEINBACH, STAMMHEIM, STRAUBING,...

[prisons in FRG where have been riots during the last years, Clash.]

SOLIDARITY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL PRISONERS' STRUGGLES !

THE ROAD TO LIBERATION GOES THROUGH THE SOCIAL APPROPRIATION PROCESS BECOMING A PART IN A NEW INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR RADICAL CHANGE !

FIGHT RACISM OF STATE AND NAZIS !

REVERSE RACIST CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOCIETY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL RELATIONS AMONG PEOPLE - FOR THIS WE NEED A GRASS-ROOTS-MOVEMENT FROM BELOW, DETERMINED BY SOLIDARITY AND JUSTNESS, BY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLDNESS IN SOCIAL RELATIONS, PERSPECTIVELESSNESS AND POVERTY !

FOR A SOCIETY WITHOUT PRISONS !

COMMANDO KATHARINA HAMMERSCHMIDT

ROTE ARMEE FRAKTION

30.3.93

p.s.: Of course the claim is a lie that we had saved the guards' and the minor judicial types' lives because of "present tactical" reasons or that they owe their lives especially to Kinkel [former minister of justice, now minister of foreign affairs, trans.]. RAF isn't interested in injuring or killing those people. This lie aims on the same thing as the fact that the warning signs we have spaciouly blocked the area 'round the prisons with, are gone by the board by BAW [German Federal Bar] - Otherwise they love to issue every hairpin for search.



To all revolutionary, progressive and antifascist organizations, groups and individuals.

Wiesbaden, Germany, Februari 7, 1993

Dear comrades and friends,

We write today asking for your support in the following matter:

On January 6, 1993 Gunther, an antifascist from Wiesbaden was stopped at a police road-block and arrested. He is accused of disturbing the peace, serious assault and damaging property. The following had happened earlier:

At about 19:30 a fascist meeting in Mainz, a neighboring town, was attacked. Two of the nazis' cars were demolished and several nazis injured. The nazis were members of the so-called "German Alternative" (Deutschen Alternative). While the police tolerated this meeting of a prohibited nazi organization, they erected road blocks around Mainz and the surrounding area hours later to search for antifascists. At 23:00 Gunther drove into such a road-block and was immediately arrested. His clothes and car were confiscated. The next day, the investigating judge ordered his continued imprisonment without drawing any direct link between the arrest and the accused crimes. The sole justification was coined in legalistic terminology arguing that the accused might run away or tamper with the evidence.

We are a group, which came together to participate in the "500 years of colonialism - 500 years of resistance" campaign and mobilize against the World Economic Summit in Munich in July 1992. Although the main emphasis of our political work is of an international nature, we see our work as being intrinsically linked to the struggles and developments in our own country. It is in this light, that we see the link between our politics and asking you to support the demand for our comrade's freedom. We are activists from the revolutionary resistance in Germany. For some time we have had the aim of organizing an international exchange about the worldwide struggles on an equal footing. We think that the liberation movements and the revolutionary left struggles have run into barriers all over the world. These international barriers are erected by the existing global power relations. This is why we see an international discussion and an

exchange about our conditions of struggle, our possibilities, political developments and perspectives as a way of learning from each other and supporting each other in solidarity.

We got to know some of you in the past years, for example at the Alternative Congress to the G-7 Economic Summit in Munich last year. This was an important event for us, because it was the first time that so many comrades from other countries had come together with so many of us from the resistance and movements here. We were unable to attain all the political goals, which we had set ourselves in Munich. However, the experiences shared there brought us closer together. The speakers from abroad were able to take home tangible experiences of both repression and resistance in Germany. We were able to carry out two mass demonstrations despite permanent attacks by the police and special forces. This experience, our discussions and joint meetings gave us power for the future.

Since Munich, the political situation in Germany has further escalated. As you have perhaps been able to follow, the racist attacks on refugees, applicants for asylum, foreign workers and antifascists have increased drastically. On January 22, 1993 Kerstin Winter, an antifascist from Freiburg was murdered by a parcel bomb. The majority of the German populace has not taken a stand at all - moreover, their active or tacit assent has prepared the

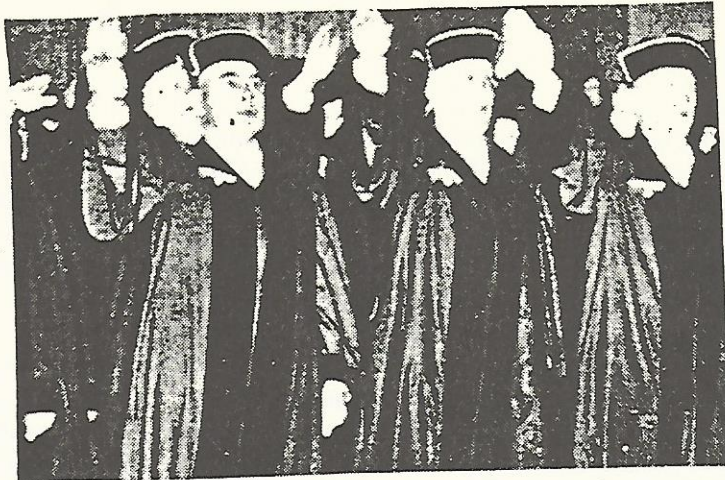
ground for the fascists. Meanwhile however, there is a relatively broad mobilization against racism, which expresses itself mainly in symbolic actions such as candlelit processions and vigils, but also in mass demonstrations. This mobilization is on one hand an expression of real humane concern, which of course we view positively. On the other hand we must also see this critically:

The broad anti-racist movement cloaks itself for the most part in the habit of a state- and capital-supporting antifascism. The personal concern of the people is a first step to political action. However, the rulers are exploiting this concern and twisting it round to legitimize and force through their racist policies. We want to give you an example of what we mean:

The largest demonstration to date took place at the beginning of November 1992 in Berlin. This demonstration, which you have perhaps heard of, was led by politicians from the various mainstream parties. The speakers at this demonstration were the same politicians, who only the day before had set a wave of hatred and fascist xenophobia in motion by talking about a state of emergency and a breakdown in the asylum question. They were the ones, who struck the match that resulted in burning refugee hostels and murdered people and who today are mutilating the constitutional right to asylum laid down in Article 16. The hypocritical demo-show in Berlin was meant to polish up the scratched image of Germany as a democratic state, which these politicians love to extol. An



image that had been tarnished by the growing criticisms and unease expressed abroad about the racist pogroms and the strengthening of German nationalism. The image polishing was spoiled for these democrats in white shirts, because several hundred people were not prepared to tolerate this hypocrisy and sabotaged their speeches. The pictures of baton-wielding German police shown in the media spoke for themselves.



A further aspect characterizing the anti-racist mass movement is the divide and rule policy practiced by politicians and media. As well as soothing foreign opinion, the rulers are seeking to integrate the people here who are starting to oppose the rise of fascism. The more or less symbolic forms of protest are organized by mainly state supporting organizations, parties, churches, media, trade unions... and co-financed by big business. Mercedes-Benz, the arms and automobile conglomerate, or the media firm that produces one of the biggest German gutter-press papers ("Bild") are just two examples. The latter co-financed concerts against racist hatred. The rulers are trying to steer this section of the anti-racist/antifascist movement and to bring it under their control. The state has taken on the term "antifascism" for its own purposes. Its reformist lackeys are trying to declare themselves speakers for this controllable section of the movement. Meanwhile, the full force of the state's repressive apparatus is being brought down on the uncontrollable section of the movement. By "uncontrollable" section, we mean those people organized in antifascist structures who are prepared to block and prevent fascist activities by direct means as well as other forms of resistance. The repressive apparatus includes not only baton-wielding police and a judiciary, the majority of which was taken over from Nazi Germany, but also a massive media propaganda campaign. This campaign slanders antifascist resistance as "left-wing violence", placing it on the same level as fascism, which it calls "right-wing violence" and so de-politicize the movement. This slander is exemplified by the way the media equates antifascists throwing eggs at state representatives on the Berlin demonstration (see above) with the fascists murdering foreigners. We see this scurrilous equation of violence as a means of repression, of confusing people, spreading fear and masking con-

traditions. A means not only of leaving the state's monopoly on violence untouched, but ultimately of strengthening the state's control over the people. Direct action against Nazi groups and fascist parties requires as a first step the self-organization of antifascists. The state brings its full weight down on this organization, which stands in direct confrontation to the existing system. It is the collective activity of the people, the collective awareness of social antagonisms and day-to-day racism, that was the privileged "first world" live off the backs of the people in the "third world", and the practice that results from that awareness, which form the explosive political force against the rulers, against the world of capital and against the racist ideology.

The centuries old racist ideology, which resulted in the colonialization of entire continents, slavery, genocide and exploitation, determines the racist German reality today. Most people here do not even notice that reality. This reality expresses itself in the prices we pay for a pound of coffee, DM 7.-, a kilo of bananas DM 1.80 or a tee-shirt for DM 5.-.....

Today, this reality is driving people from the countries of their birth, out of the producing countries, because they are robbed of the minimal conditions for existence by our consumptions and the price dictatorship of the world market. They are forced to seek refuge in the fortress of Western Europe, because life in their home countries is no longer possible. This racist, capitalist reality creates the starting point for the fascist pogroms. The rulers use any means at their disposal to prop up this reality and to maintain the privileges of the "first world". It is in this context, that it becomes understandable why the state apparatus reacts so oppressively against organized antifascists. This is the context in which we see Gunther's

arrests. The arrest is meant to act as a deterrent, to show us the consequences of organizing, of taking direct action against fascists, of breaking the state's monopoly on violence and thereby breaking out of their control.

The flimsy justification and judicial manouvering in such cases, which suffice to keep the victim in prison at least until his/her trial (which can take a long time), are not new to us. The judiciary has always been ready to serve as a repressive instrument to clamp down on rising movement and struggles. This is an experience that we from the autonomous and anti-imperialist resistance have made again and again. It is precisely these experiences, that lead us to fear Gunther could remain in prison.

We demand Gunther's release!!!

We are not prepared to tolerate in silence judicial proceedings against him as a proxy for the entire antifascist movement!!!!

Since we are aware that Germany is forced at this time to take into account foreign reactions in their current policy-making, we have decided to write to you. We are keeping in mind the protests at German embassies and consulates in several European countries and in North America, which took place on the antifascist day of action last year (November 9). Together with the activities in Germany, those protests put international pressure on the German government.

We ask you to send the attached letter demanding Gunther's release to the responsible Minister for Justice in Rhineland-Pfalz (the state in which Gunther is imprisoned) and the German consulates and

embassies in your countries. We are hoping that those politically responsible for this case will thereby be put under more pressure and that this will favorably affect Gunther's release.

Please inform us if you send such petitions, so that we can judge the reactions to our letter and possible results. This notification, as well as any letters or greetings you wish to send to Gunther himself, please send to the following contact address:

AG "500 Jahre Kolonialismus und Widerstand"

Infoladen

Werderstr. 8

6200 Wiesbaden

Germany

Tel: Germany/ 611 / 440664

Fax: Germany/ 611 / 302083 or

Germany/ 611 / 9490751

(NB if you send a fax please write "AG 500 Jahre Kolonialismus und Widerstand" at the top, so that the comrades pass it on to us.)

Please spread our letter and the sample letter to the Minister of Justice to other groups and individuals in your region. Please feel free (of course) to draft your own letters to German embassies, consulates or the Minister of Justice....

We would also like to say to you for our own part, that we see our letter as a continuation of existing contacts and practical solidarity. We would be very happy, if you are interested in an exchange and discussion. Write back to us.

Greetings in solidarity

Comrades from the "AG 500 Jahre Kolonialismus und Widerstand"



Justizministerium Rheinland-Pfalz

z. Hd. Justizminister Caesar

Ernst-Ludwig-Str. 3

6500 Mainz

Germany

Fax: Germany / 6131 / 164887

Arrest of an Antifascist from Wiesbaden in Mainz, Germany on 06.01.93

To Mr. Caesar, Minister for Justice:

I have/we have heard that an antifascist from Wiesbaden has been arrested and imprisoned in Mainz on January 6, 1993.

I/We hereby demand that you release this antifascist immediately and that you halt all proceedings against antifascists.

Name

Address

Signature

The antifascist and resistance fighter' Gerhard Bögelein is dead.

"There are many ways to kill....." (B. Brecht)

Already in 1989, when Gerhard Bögelein (67) was arrested and thrown into the jail in Hamburg, he was very ill. We are certain that the two years in jail before the trial, the trial itself and the conviction to life-long imprisonment have shortened his life.

The parole that could be achieved in december 1992 was already long overdue. From our point of view, it was only tolerated because it was clear that he had only a small life-expectancy left. The verdict of life in prison should not be out in the open as that, which it meant for Gerhard Bögelein: "a death-sentence".

To remind you:

Gerhard Bögelein had come into conflict with the Nazi-military justice for the first time when he was 19, in 1943. He had refused to take part in the killing of a group of civilians, amongst whom there were also jewish women and men.

In 1944, he succeeded in deserting from the german army, and until the end of the war he fought on the side of the sovjet Red Army.

After 1945, because of his command of languages, he was amongst other tasks responsible for taking up fascist war-criminals, in his capacity as officer in the Red Army.

In connection with this, he also interrogated the Nazi-military judge Erich Kallmerten, who signed a confession that he was personally responsible for 178 death-sentences which he had dealt out as the superior military judge of the Kurland-army. Erich Kallmerten was found beaten to death in 1947, in the prisoners-of-war camp Klaipeda. Already in 1949 the FRG (West-German) justice tried to make Gerhard Bögelein responsible for the killing of the Nazi-bloodjudge Kallmerten. The investigations in this case were led by the Hamburg investigation-judge Kurt Steckel. Steckel had, like almost all the Nazi-judges, slipped through the so-called de-nazification process completely unscathed. Even in 1945 he was still working as state attorney at the People's Court (a nazi "justice" court) in Potsdam. The current trial was held almost exclusively on the basis of the investigations of Steckel.

Gerhard Bögelein lived in the DDR since 1956, and was therefore safe from the extradition demands from the FRG-justice, until his arrest after the annexation of the DDR in 1989.

The trial in Hamburg in 1992 was typified by the fact, that the state attorney Harald Duhn held the accusation in the spirit of his old teacher Kurt Steckel. The 22nd Chamber of Justice under judge Diethelm Erdmann followed this lead. In this trial the roles were turned around; out of the Nazi-perpetrator Erich Kallmerten was created the victim of a "lowly, carried-out in the dark murder", while the antifascist and resistance fighter Gerhard Bögelein was made into a perpetrator, in spite of a very flimsy chain of 'clues' and no witnesses.

Trial support group Gerhard Bögelein

For more information:

Autonome Infogruppe

Schweffelstr. 6

2300 Kiel

Germany

Fax: Germany / 431 / 577056

Tel: Germany / 431 / 565899

There are many ways to kill.....

We are furious about the death of the anti-fascist and resistance fighter

Gerhard Bögelein

16.01.1924 - 09.03.1993

prosecuted by Nazi- and FRG justice.

THEY have snatched him in 1989 from medical treatment in Leipzig, taken him to Hamburg, destroyed his health in prison and thereby led him into death.

**We mourn about our
friend and comrade**

Trial support group Gerhard Bögelein

... AND TO ESCALATE THE INTIFADA

Interview with a Palestinian from the Occupied Territories

First of all, let me introduce myself. My name is Ali Jeddah, Palestinian, born in the old city of Jerusalem, ex-political prisoner. I spent 17 years in Israeli jails, was released in 1985. In the meantime working as a journalist.

Concerning the situation in the Occupied Territories, since the beginning of the negotiations, the so-called peace-negotiations.

Well, I'm a Palestinian who is totally opposed to the peace-talks (PT), because if I want a scientific and deep analysis on which basis those PT are carried I will find out that these PT have nothing to do with the benefit of the Palestinian people. Now, let me try to give an image or a picture why the Americans are so interested in finding a solution for the Palestinian issue. As you know, after the end of the so-called Cold War, meaning between the main two strong forces Soviet-Union from one side and the USA from the other and after the result of the Gulf-war, the U.S. are really interested in arranging the international map in behalf of the USA.

The "Middle East" is one of the areas, which is so important, strategically, economically and politically, for the U.S. In arranging the "Middle East" the U.S. have to face two main obstacles. One of those is totally demolished, meaning Iraq. The second one which is left is the Palestinian issue. The Americans are well aware of this fact that all the time the Palestinian issue has no solution there will be no stability in the "Middle East". The Palestinian issue is like a time-bomb which is ready to explode any time and the Americans know it. They began intensively to carry various efforts in order to find a solution to the Palestinian issue. So, this solution disputes the way the Americans look to things, means that they want a solution which will do for their interest and the interest of the Israelis.

When I say that I, as a Palestinian, am against the PT which are taking place in Washington you shouldn't misunderstand me, meaning that I'm not interested in peace. No, usually I say that we are the people which is the most in need for peace. After such a long history of sufferings I think it's time for us to have a rest and to start having such a normal life like any human nation in all over the world. But I'm convinced that these PT which are under the conditions of the Americans and the Israelis are not leading to the kind of peace I mean. I regard it to be a conspiracy against the Palestinian nation. A conspiracy which is really looking for the ending, the total elimination of the Palestinian issue. Look, for example, the invitation, that was sent to the various parts who are participating in the PT, I want to talk about the Palestinian side.

In this invitation you can't find any paragraph talking about the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. There is no paragraph talking about having an independent Palestinian state and no dealing with Jerusalem as an occupied city like other areas in the Occupied Terri-

ties. The American invitation is not talking about Palestinians in the diaspora. So, what do I have to do in Washington? What kind of peace are we talking about? So for that.

I say we are ready for peace. But we want serious peace which will guarantee all national legitimate rights of the Palestinian people which can be expressed in the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, the right of establishing our independent Palestinian state in the Occupied Territories with Jerusalem as its capital. With the full participation on an equal level of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians and to guarantee to have the right to return (to Palestine). When I talk about the right to return I have to talk about the Palestinians living in the diaspora. Today, after one year of negotiations, what did we get from them? I want to say it the way the Americans say it: "It's all bullshit."

On the contrary I think, because of those PT we are the main loser in this as Palestinians. I can read a little bit in the future of the negotiations, in what is going to happen.

There are negotiations between "Israel" and the Arab countries. Maybe soon they will have a peaceful agreement with Syria, afterwards with the Lebanese and with the Jordanians. It's very clear for all of them, the Israelis are talking about full normalization between the Arab countries and "Israel". Ok, they want to give us autonomy, they want to exercise us for three years. Then they want to negotiate and to find a final solution for the Palestinian issue. Who can guarantee that after three years any Arab country will come to help or to rescue the Palestinians. Even now the Arabs are not ready to support us. So after three years of such a normalization of relations they will be like what has happened between Egypt and "Israel". Is Hafez al-Asad ready to come and to sacrifice for the Palestinians, or King Hussein or others? No. We will be alone in the field. Which means, our status of negotiating with the Israelis will be very, very weak. So for that. Why I regard the PT also as very dangerous is because in the meantime it's very obvious, very clear that we have a serious split among us Palestinians. The mainstream in PLO, meaning al-Fatah, is ok with the negotiations where we have other eight factions, like the PFLP, DFLP and others, which are against the PT. Such a split is not only in the PLO outside it is also inside the Occupied Territories.

Question: What does such a split mean for the Intifada?

Such a split is doing a lot of harm to the Intifada, because the Intifada for us, we regard it to be the only option now, is the only way of struggling against the occupation. One of the most important factors for the success of the Intifada is the national unity of the Palestinians. So at the time such a

national unity is absent you can't say that the Intifada can really progress and can be very close to achieve its targets. Because of this split we can't, for example, function united. We are functioning separated. Fatah alone, PFLP alone, Hamas alone. There are a lot of contradictions concerning the political process.

Question: OK, you say you are against the peace-process and against the autonomy. So, what do you suggest, what's your alternative?

I don't bring my alternative from the sky, I bring it from the status quo, from where and how I'm living. The only solution I can see is, all efforts should be put in order to let the Intifada go on and to escalate the Intifada. Once I've recognized this means I should support it with the main elements. Politically, financially and economically on all levels. Meaning the Intifada should be really supported. So, the masses who are paying the price, the masses who are sacrificing daily can stand various measures carried out by the Israeli occupation against them. This is concerning the way of the struggle. On the political level it is time now to move the palestinian file from the hands of the Americans to the United Nations (UN). Meaning that all members of the Security Council, esp. the European countries should deal with the palestinian issue. We should not leave it in the hands of the Americans because they are not a neutral leader.

Question: Do you really think there is a difference between the U.S. and the UN in dealing with this?

Well, I don't believe in the UN. The "New World Order" means now, that you are not talking anymore about the UN-Security Council, it's now the USA-Security Council. But why I say we should take off the file from the hands of the Americans is that it is an obstacle to the American solution and I can mobilize in the Arab world and on the international level for the palestinian issue.

The autonomy that they propose now, those Palestinians who all think of themselves that they are smart, I'm talking about the palestinian delegation, they want to convince us that the autonomy is not a permanent solution, but a temporary one. A transmitter period with our own independent state in the end. Ok, you are clever, you are smart. But don't forget, that the Israelis from their side are also smart and clever. The Israelis are looking that when we finished with the 3 years of this transmitting period, there will be such a status quo and facts on ground which will not give us the hope that we are going towards a pal. ind. state. Take what's happening in the WB, meaning the settlements. In the WB now we have about 170.000 settlers. For example let's say if you go to Ramallah area now, you will find arab villages which are totally surrounded with settlements. This gives you an idea what the future will be like. We will have small cantons for Palestinians, surrounded by various settlements. Such a situation will not enable us to create a net of relations among Palestinians. A net of relations, I mean, social, political, economical, because

geographically we are cut from each other. So these elements, all the time they are absent we can't have a really basis for establishing an ind. pal. state.

What is going to happen in the Occupied Territories? I can see it clearly. It will be a joined palestinian-israeli administration. And in the future there will be a third partner which is Jordan. Now Jordan is out of the game, but in the future they are going to enter the WB again. And this due to the american solution which they are negotiating in Washington.

Question: How are you going to face this conspiracy?

As a Palestinian I can't begin dealing with my brothers, other Palestinians, who support the PT, violently. I have to fight them politically, meaning to convince the masses that this direction will not be for the benefit of the pal. people. On the contrary we will be the main side which will be harmed by these PT. Supposed we will get the autonomy tomorrow how are we going to function as opposition? We have a very important issue with which you can mobilize the masses: Unification of the families. It happens a lot that one part of the family is living in the WB and the other in Amman and is not allowed to come back. So I will come with such a slogan saying: "Unification of the pal. families". I know pretty well that the pal. administration won't be authorized by the Israelis to handle this issue. Because, if you have the keys of the bridges (between Jordan and Pal.) means you have the keys of the authority. It will be the Israelis who decide who can come back and who can't. So what does the autonomy mean? The masses will begin to find out that the whole autonomy is worthless and it is not for what they have already sacrificed, thousands and thousands of martyrs, of wounded people and weakenings haven't sacrificed for such an authority or independence.

Now, as a part of the opposition I should look for those who agree with me politically and who oppose the PT

Question: A lot of people are sympathising with Hamas, how do you deal with this? And on which level is it possible to work together with them?

Fundamentalism is a result of desperation, everywhere in the world. I know it pretty well through my 17 years in prison. People who used to become fundamentalistic, people who were totally desperate don't believe in the national program anymore. They think they've lost the world, but at least they can win the other world. Hamas, I have to admit is becoming more popular, because the pal. masses are becoming more desperate. They feel that the whole world, if it is the UN, the USA or the Arab countries, has betrayed them. So Hamas is really benefiting of the desperation among pal. people. But at the same time Hamas is totally against the PT and they have their own masses, so I'm interested to be in coalition with Hamas. In the mean-time we are concerning the future on the long

run. I know we'll have a lot of trouble with fundamentalism. But I'm talking about this period which I regard to be the most serious and dangerous period for the pal. people. For that I'm obliged to be in coalition with Hamas.

Concerning the future I say to people of Hamas: O.k., you want an islamic state and I want a socialist state. It is not you who will decide what kind of state we want or mean. Let's come back to the masses and they will give their last word concerning what kind of state they want and we should be democratic and accept the will of the majority of the Palestinians. If the masses, the majority, come tomorrow and want an islamic state, I have to accept it. I ask the same from people of Hamas, if the majority wants a socialist state.

Question: What about the situation of the pal. women, what has changed for them?

First let me say: On this level concerning the statue of the pal. women I have to say first how we regard the Intifada.

The Intifada for us is not the throwing of the stones or the molotows. The Intifada is exactly what is happening inside the pal. society. The Intifada itself is a social, political, economical process taking place inside the pal. society. It is a process of building the infrastructure of the coming society. And we say usually, the Intifada is an historical and unique face in the history of the struggle of the pal. people. One of the aspects which gives the Intifada this definition are the changes which were carried on the statue of the pal. mind.

Due to the Intifada the men are obliged to give women such a free hand, that they can express themselves, that they can give their affords in the Intifada. Take for example the popular committees: The Intifada is a pyramid and the base, at the beginning of the Intifada, were the popular committees. The educational, agricultural, medical committees and various others. Most of the members of those committees were either shot-killed, put in prison or deported. So, who were supposed to replace them were the women.

Let me also admit that I come from an oriental society, which means we have our own mentality towards how to deal with women. So it's not because we want to give the women their freedom, but because of the new status quo we are obliged to give the ability for women to function more freely. And some of us they say now: "Well after this Intifada, we will be obliged for another one. It will be the Intifada of the women. I can't say a real revolution has been carried on the status of the women but in comparison with their situation before the Intifada, I think there is a real radical change.

Question: How do the womens organisations deal with the new situation?

Now, all unions of the palestinian women are active. But unfortunately, once again I say to you, because of the political split among us as Palestinians, even the the pal. womens unions are suffering from this split. We have four pal. unions.

Recently they made a united council and tried to come out with a joint communique, but the main obstacle they have to face is the political split among us, because those womens unions belong to the four fractions. Among the four fractions we have two who are totally o.k. with the PT, for ex. the Fatah-fraction and the communist fraction and they are participating in the PT, while the two other fractions, the Popular Front of Habash and the Democratic Front of Hawatmeh are against the PT.

When the Palestinians are now talking about boycotting the PT because of the deportations of the 418, I don't believe them. If you read the newspaper today, Yasser Arafat was very clear, he said: "We are not intending to boycott the PT". When the PT begin on february I'm quite convinced that the pal. delegation is going to move to Washington to go on with the PT, that means we will have a lot of troubles among us Palestinians. At the same time we are so cautious and so careful that we will do our best that inspite of all these contradictions we will never deal with them violently, because we know, this would be the beginning of the end of our struggle.

A lot of our masses are suffering, especially on the economic level, due to the Israeli measures. For ex. to put an area like Gaza Strip under curfew for more than one week means a lot of damage. There is such a high percentage of pal. workers who work inside "Israel". If they can't go to work on that day means they don't have food for their families on that day, and there are no other possibilities. The only alternative for us is to go on to escalate the Intifada. This is our only possibility that we can see in the mean-time which will enable us to get rid of the occupation. I can't see another alternative.

Question: What do you think about the international solidarity movement and how do you regard them here?

In the first two years of the Intifada there was a lot of solidarity with the pal. people. More and more the popular opinion in the international world began to find out, what's the meaning of the Israeli state and what's the meaning of the palestinian issue. So, at that time there was such an interest and such a solidarity with the palestinian issue, but afterwards it began to calm down and at first because of the various changes which took place in the world esp. after the end of the "Cold War" and the new status of East Europe. I was in Germany in the beginning of 1990 and found out there were some groups who were really symphatizers of the Palestinians. They were ready to do any active solidarity for us, but now I can't hear anything from them. We used to see a lot of those Germans coming to Palestine. from time to time to the occupied territories to find out what's happening.

It seems that they are also suffering of desperation and frustration. I hope of course, that the sympathy and the solidarity with the pal. people will rise again. But I'm not so optimistic in this and I think that those left groups all over Europe are now more

interested in facing what is called the american competition with the european countries, but I want to say to those left groups that, if you are really interested in beating the imperialists, mainly the Americans, you should do your best to support the Palestinians, because the more you support us, the more we will come closer and closer to achieve our targets. And once we achieve our targets I think it will be a such a very, very serious and heavy blow that you can direct to the imperialists.

A normal human life for me means, as a Palestinian I want to walk freely in the streets of Palestine. I shouldn't be scared, I shouldn't be worried. Now I will be stopped by the soldiers, I will be harrassed, I will be beaten.

I want to have my own passport. What's the meaning of the laissez-passer they gave me, it is really ridiculous. They are writing: Place of birth - Israel, citizenship - jordanian, totally ridiculous. Now, a normal human life for me means that if I ask my 4-years-old daughter to draw something for me I want to see nature, trees, green things, water. But what I see are stones, soldiers, camps. This is not the daughter I want to raise. She is totally destroyed, psychologically, and she is only an example. I'm talking about a whole generation, which is totally destroyed, psychologically.

Question: What about the situation of the Palestinians living outside of Palestine?

The Palestinians who are living in the diaspora, mainly in refugee-camps in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, are in a very miserable situation. Because due to the new situation, meaning the "peace-process", they are totally forgotten. Nobody wants to talk about them. And I'm really afraid, because I see that there is such a policy organized by the Americans and the Europeans together with the Israelis and the Arab regimes concerning those Palestinians living in the diaspora. Little by little they are dispersing them in all over the world. So there case will be forgotten. The same is for Palestinians inside the "green line", meaning inside "Israel". The Israelis say to them: "if you want to live here be a good Palestinian, shut up, don't deal with politics and accept our decisions". I can't separate this situation from what is happening in the Arab world. I hope there will soon be some radical changes which will have their influence on the pal. issue.

Even the leadership of the Palestinians, mainly the PLO, is no more the leadership which was once so popular among the Palestinians, because they feel betrayed by them. So I think 1993 will be a very crucial year and I hope it will be for the benefit of the pal. people.

The core of the conflict is not the occupation. The roots of it is the nature of the Israeli state. All the time "Israel" has such a nature, meaning the zionist nature, colonialism and expansion, I think we will going to have trouble in this area. So, in order to get rid of all these troubles we should do the best to reach to one independent Palestine, which will be a secular, democratic state in which all societies will

live together, Palestinians and Israelis, in real equality.

More and more Israelis recognize now that their own interest is contrary to the zionist movement. If they want to live in real peace in this area, under human conditions, they have to get rid of the zionist nature of the Israeli state.

Question: Is there a coalition or do you work together with Israeli leftists?

Well, unfortunately the Israeli peace-camp is such a broad camp with Zionists, the center and the Left. The real radical left Israelis are such a minority, you can't mention them in the mean-time. They are so isolated inside the Israeli society. But I say, since the beginning of the Intifada, there was a process of polarization inside the Israeli society and if you are interested in deepening this you have to go on and to escalate the Intifada.

Before the Intifada 92% of the Israelis were totally ok with the occupation, because it was a profitable project for them. But since the beginning of the Intifada it's no more like that. There are two main currents inside the Israeli society. One, which seems to be the majority, is talking about the total transfer of the Palestinians. While the other one is saying now: "It's time to sit and to talk with the Palestinians". So, if you want to deepen this polarization, you don't go to Washington to carry PT.

Question: I'm also interested in...hm...how can the women, for ex. from the PFLP, work together with Hamas, because Hamas wants the women back into their traditional roles?

Also the men of the PFLP are against such demands from the fundamentalistic elements. But what we say to them in the mean-time is: "Ok, let's put your ideology aside and we put our ideology aside". Our main fight now is a political one. We want to face what is called the peace-talks in Washington and we want to undermine it. And it is only possible on a united basis. So, on this basis you can work together with Hamas, but if we come to the social views, there are a lot of contradictions. And I said to you in the beginning, that in the future we'll have a lot of trouble.

Jerusalem, January 1993

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH-FRIENDSHIP-CAMP IN SUSA/LIBYA

FROM 25th - 31st AUGUST 1992

Travelogue of the West-German Delegation

Our delegation consisted of 10 persons. All of us come from the northern part of Germany.

The journey had been planned on extremely short notice (less than two weeks ahead) and it has not been possible to find participants on a country-wide level.

On August 23, 92 we started our journey at Hamburg Airport. First we went to Frankfurt, from there we flew to Malta. From Malta we travelled by ship to Tripolis/ Libya. The boat passage took app. 17 hours. From there we had to take two more flights in order to arrive at our destination. The first trip was from Tripolis to Benghazi which is situated app. 1000 km to the east and the second was from Benghazi to Susa, another 200 km to the East.

The International Airport of Tripoli looked haunting. Besides us nobody seemed to fly from there. To us this was the first VISIBLE impression of the international air embargo against Libya (aside from the fact that we could not take a direct flight but had to travel by boat from Malta).

Late at night on the second day of the journey we reached the camp close to the small town of Susa. That is a kind of holiday resort, at the seaside. We stayed in small cottages that consisted of one room with five beds each.

In the camp participated app. 150 people from 9 different countries: Danmark, Germany (East and West), Holland, Luxembourg, Gt. Britain, Rumania, Spain, Malta, and Libya.

The stay was planned according to an exact schedule.

Between 8.00 and 9.00 am there was breakfast. 9.30 to 11.00 we had a lecture every day. We were informed about the school system, the political system, the Lockerbie case and about society/ Islam. Of two of the lectures, minutes are printed here.

11.30 am to app. 14.00 pm we had trips into the environs. Mostly it was excavation sites of ancient Greek or Roman places: i.e. the cities of Cyrene and Apollonia.

Some of us were a little disappointed to see ancient cities every day and would have preferred to visit schools or factories. But the problem was that 1. it was summer holidays at the time

and 2. that in this area the main industry is agrarian and there are almost no factories.

Around 14.00 pm we had lunch and until 16.00 pm there was free time which most people used to swim in the sea.

16.00 pm to 18.00 pm there were group discussions, mostly about the subject that we had the lecture on in the morning. Two minutes of these discussions of the German group are printed here.

The discussing groups were divided according to language. One one hand this was a big pity because of that we came to know less of the people from the other countries but on the other hand this was useful since in this way there had only to be a translation from the Arabic language into one other language at a time. The lectures were always translated into 3 to 5 different languages. A discussion would not have been possible in that manner.

18.00 pm to 20.00 pm it was sports time: volleyball, soccer, rowing, swimming and gymnastics. This was a very good arrangement. Nobody can listen and discuss a whole day and many of us found it very sensible that sports made for a fixed item on the schedule.

At 20.00 pm there was dinner and, after that, party. Mostly a band or dance company performed, but as soon as they were having a break, participants in the camp went onto the stage and sung and danced in the meantime. This often ended with a mayor part of the camp was up there singing, clapping, dancing, or that the delegations were performing arts from their respective cultures ie. imitating each other.

At this point a triple chichichiwawa to our Spanish comrades- you were great!

And now before we stop to report we wish to make an end with two misinformations that were (spooking) at least in our mind:

1) "The houses to those who live in them" does NOT mean that all people in Libya get a house for free. It means, though, that there is no housing for hire (except for those who stay in Libya only temporarily) and that everyone owns the place they live in. But this they have to buy and the



YOUTH FRIND SHIP CAMP'92
25 - 31 AUGUST

SUSA

GREAT JAMAHERIYA

instalments are not necessarily low. It also means, though, that it is forbidden to earn money by exploiting the basic human need to have a place to live in.

Nobody is allowed to own more than one house unless he/she works far away from home and has to live in two cities.

2) That in Libya no-one has to work more than 4 hours a day is nonsense. Nomally a working day has 8 hours.

In conclusion we wish to say that although 10 days are extremely short to even gain just a first impression, this journey has been a complete success and a totally impressive experience.

The program was very interesting but most important in the end was the person-to-person contacts that we made with the people in the camp and the discussions that took place there.

We started to the journey with many questions in our heads, some of which have been answered, but we came back with many more questions, but also with a multitude of impressions and experiences.

We hope that the minutes can give an impression and will encourage discussions. That these cannot be far-reaching analyses seems obvious.

WOMENMEETING

In this meeting were participating 9 women from Spain, 3 from Germany, 1 from England and 2 of the 3 libyan women.

This meeting was "of course", inspite of the often praised equality, not a part of the programme and we had to meet inbetween two things of the fulfilled days with very little time.

We had a lot of questions to the libyan women, but due to the fact, that we had to translate english, arab, spanish and german into all directions, run that meeting in a pretty good humor but was also very chaotic.

? Our first question was, how far the equality between men and women is realized.

! Women have some freedom but not the whole, mostly because of the religion. Women are allowed to study what they want to, they can also work, but the personal freedom is limited. We can only move around in a smaller room, f. e. we can't take a boyfriend. The developement of women rights is building up, but often women don't manage from their inner feeling to take their freedom.

? Why are there only 3 women from Libya here in this camp?

! Maybe they didn't know about it and there are aswell holidays now.

? How comes, that the men knew about it and are not all at holidays?

! Thats always a problem, maybe nobody told the women.

? In the green book is written, that the natural role of women is to be a mother. It says, that work keeps women away from their natural role and makes them unfree.

! No, women don't have to have children, they also don't have to marry. But most women do marry because it is the only chance to have sex. As a virgin we are not allowed to live alone. The alternative is husband or family.

? Are the women allowed to choose their husband by themselves?

! Yes, today they can. In former times it was usual that the man came with a lot of gifts to her father, today he has only to bring a ring, and the woman can choose her husband.

? Are there any problems if women want to get divorced?

! Women have the same right to get divorced as men. After a divorce the woman keeps the house and what they own together. The state is paying subsistence for her. Then she is allowed to live alone because she's not a virgin anymore.

? Do you get financial support by the state during your studies?

! Yes, during the studies women get more money than men. When a woman, and a man ask for the same job, the woman will get it. They do it because they want to push women. Women also get busses for going to work or to University for free.

? We want to know, if there are womenmeetings for talking about politics? ! Last week there was a

womencamp in Algeria. But it is like that, that men have the power in society. To take power, it's a thing which "women simply don't do", but they try to change themselves.

? In the green book there is written that kindergardens are unnatural, that they are like chickenfarms. Are there women who work although they have children?

! There are many kindergardens. The reality is different from the green book.

? Is there any violence against women in the libyan society, rape, f.e.?

! It's not "usual", normally it doesn't happen.

? And what's about the families?

! It would never happen inside the family. The men are much to afraid of the social pressure.

(A few days later, when we were talking about the women's situation in Germany, they said, that there is also rape in Libya but that it is hushed up. The image of a raped woman is ruined but the man has proved his virility. In the end the two libyan women said, that they would like to know more about the women's situation in Europe and that we have to arrange another meeting. Everybody was enthusiastic about this idea but sadly we didn't manage to meet because there was not enough time for us.

PROTOCOL OF THE LECTURE ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

(Lecture held in arabic. Translated from the German script.)

"First of all we have got to talk about the term 'democracy' [Greek: rule of the state by the people. Translator]. What is called democracy today (in most of the countries) is no 'people's rule' [rule of the people by the people.T.]. There are only parties, i.e. a small group of people holds the power either the party leaders or the leaders of the armed forces.

Democracy is a very old term and there have been attempts to translate it into action again and again. What is understood by democracy today is not the 'people's rule' but rather a 'partycracy'. Parties channel the way

of the people to the power. This is no real democracy.

Actually the elected people are the rulers and they are able to do whatever they want. Before the next elections they make some small concessions to be reelected. And the poor people in a country will be directed towards their hunger and will submit themselves. That's why a good nourishment is very important to create independance. The government is responsible for the nourishment.

The so-called democracies of today want the people to stay poor so that their power is not endangered. The governments are creating ignorance

by purpose. Their power is based on the ignorance of the people.

Democracy means that the whole people holds the power. In Libya exists the attempt to to translate direct democracy into action since 15 years. Quite a lot has been established during that time. We would like to discuss about it with you. Your opinion is of importance for us.

Our system is called 'Jamahiriya', which is a difference to 'Jumhuriya' (republic) as in Europe.

In our country there are existing committees consisting of the whole people. When parties are ruling there always is struggle. Here every person

has got power without being member of a party. Parties are dangerous for the 'people's rule' because there representatives hold the power which they perform instead of the people. Let's take the city of Susa for example. Conforming to the western model of democracy the people would elect a representative for Susa to the parliament. In our system there are no representatives. The people of Susa join together to discuss a problem. Then they decide on a delegate with an imperative mandate who transmits the decision taken in Susa to the General People Congress. The delegate has got no right to change anything at the decision taken. It is as if whole Susa is participating through this person in the sessions. Actually the delegates are only 'postWOMen' who deliver something. In the General People Congress there are meeting one hundred 'postWOMen' and decide on the agenda. The 'postWOMen' are only allowed to articulate their own opinion in the Basis People Congresses [on local level, T.] where the discussions are going to be held but not in the General People Congress [on national level, T.]. If e.g. the city of Susa desires to do something which would only concern the city of Susa the people of Susa are free to make their decisions independently and act on their own. The decisions are implemented by Executive Committees.

In western democracies the representatives normally are rich. Here it doesn't matter because the delegates only deliver something. In the so-called democracies in the western world poor people do not even have the idea to become representative. They do not even know about the problems of their country. On the other side the elected representatives cannot know what people want, what the real needs and problems are. The result of this are manifestations for example. The only way to solve that are People Congresses.

In the 'Jamahiriya' the delegates cannot fantasize. It is somewhat like a parliament but much bigger. In a parliament there are about 500 seats let's say, that is to say only the opinions of very few persons. Here we have got two million seats. If a law is created two million opinions are taken into account. And the 'postWOMan' is not allowed to open the letter and to change the text. Whatever the people say will be implemented. The free opinion has got to be protected.

E.g. it is not possible that people work for somebody else. In such a case the factory must be squatted. Either the manufactories have got to be state-owned or the employees must form a cooperative. Nobody is allowed to own a lot of houses to rent them. Everybody owns the house she/he is living in. These provisions liberate the people to develop their own political opinions and ideas. Nobody needs to be enslaved because of her/his basic needs.

Here there doesn't exist a bourgeoisie who organizes everything.

By means of debts dependence is created. If e.g. a country makes a law against the USA the United States stop their support and the country becomes even poorer, the people become poorer. This way a people never becomes free. People will always be forced to submit themselves to the bourgeoisie directly or indirectly.

If e.g. students in the USA claim for something, maybe a part of it will be implemented to calm them, but they will never get everything they wished. We do not have to direct ourselves 'upwards'. A lot of people in the so-called democracies believe that it

would be democracy if only the people may articulate what it thinks. But this is not true. Only the 'people's rule' is democratic. Only a people governing and ruling itself is able to articulate its opinion and to IMPLEMENT it.

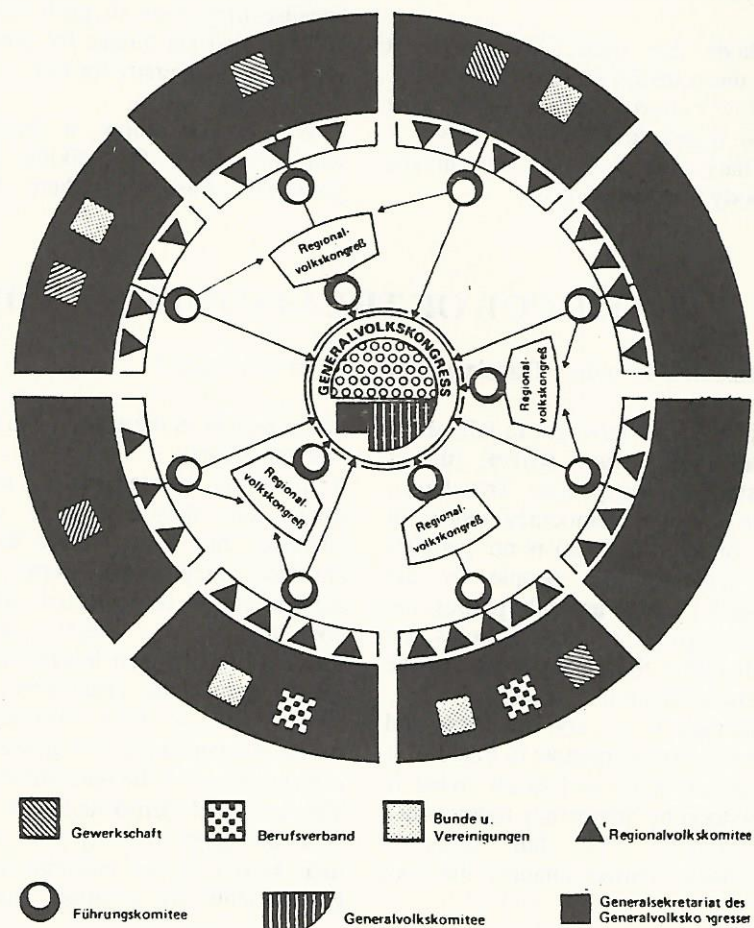
If you want to publish something in a newspaper in the West your article might be rejected. The newspapers want to make money and your opinion has got to fit in. Otherwise your opinion is censored. It is different here.

A lot people seem to believe that it is enough to swear at the government or to make manifestations. But if there would be a real world wide democracy all of the people would have said what they wanted and worldwars wouldn't have taken place either. Nuclear power stations are not liked by people but only by very few who make money with it. World democracy would mean peace on the whole earth.

The direction of democracy must be changed.

Of course this has been very incomplete but one hour is not enough to explain the term of 'democracy' properly."

ORGANOGRAMM DER VOLKSMACHT



Discussion

The beginning of this discussion has been quite chaotic. A lot of questions had been asked and the answers had been messed up a bit.

The attempt failed to bring things in order here.

[The typer]

? : - Is the Jamahiriya based on the ideas of anarchists in Spain?

- How often are the People Congresses taking place?

- How are the decisions from different cities put together?

- What happens if there are two major positions in a discussion?

- How are minorities treated?

- What is the share of women in the People Congresses?

"Well, the idea of the Jamahiriya is not a new one, but nobody succeeded to realize it over a longer period anywhere. Libya is also an attempt. The delegates to the people's congresses are always very responsible and the people trust them. If the delegate is male, the deputy has got to be female. If there is no woman, the job stays vacant until there is a woman found. In the past the delegates had been elected for three years, now it is depending on how he or she is working. If there arises criticism against a delegate then it has got to be articulated and accounted in the public. Then the people of the city or of the district decide on it in an unscheduled meeting."

? How does it work in practice? To whom one can address oneself, if she or he has criticism?

"You write letters to the Basis People Congress."

? How many letters are needed to call for an unscheduled session?

"We don't know that exactly, but we assume about 15 letters are necessary. If a session shall take place people will be informed by letter or on radio or TV. People who don't participate don't have the right to complain afterwards. If only two people appear those two are able to decide. - If a decision concerns only one city or one district the problem can be solved there, if the financial resources are sufficient. If something concerns the whole state the problem is going to be discussed everywhere. 'Lockerbie' for example had been discussed everywhere, every municipality sends a delegate."

? How often do the big People Congresses take place?

"Twice a year, once there are treated minor problems, Basis People Congresses are being held more often

depending on what needs to be clarified. The Basis People Congresses elect Executive Committees which do the work between the sessions. The Committees have a very variable structure. There are Committees of cities, districts, schools, universities and different professions."

(At this point we hardly can imagine that two sessions of the People Congresses a year are sufficient and we try to construct an urgent question concerning the whole state, which had been quite difficult:) ? What would happen, if the armed forces of the USA would attack Libya directly and the question is how Libya should react?

"Questions like this are decided beforehand and it is obvious that the country would be defended. The rest would be decided by the Secretary of State for Defence, and the execution lies in the responsibility of the Executive Committee."

? What is the role of Quaddafi in that case?

"Quaddafi only gives advices. He is important at two points: First he wrote the theory, the 'Green Book', he may give advices to change the system. They will be discussed then. But not only he but everybody else, even foreigners, may give advices to optimize the theory. E.g. the 'Green Book' did contain proposals for economic reforms but it is completely different made now. In certain areas people with experience do have much more knowledge than Quaddafi. The second point is that Quaddafi is Major of the Libyan army. When he will be gone some day there won't be an empty place left."

? Why are there such a lot of pictures of Quaddafi in public buildings, if he is not that important?

"There doesn't exist an obligation to hang up these pictures but there also doesn't exist a law against it. Quaddafi is the personification of what the changes in the country led to. People hang up what they like and a lot of people like him."

We ask why there aren't pictures hung up showing the people's masses and we get to know that Quaddafi asked the same question himself once.

"A lot of people hang up a picture of Quaddafi because he is a good person, because of sympathy. But you are right, that it is not good to make one human being especially great."

We ask once again whether there won't be missing something if Quaddafi wouldn't be any longer. And a second question is: Quaddafi

had not be elected at any time, which is to say that he can't be dismissed as well.

"No, we don't believe, that we need him any longer. Until 1978 he has been President and we all know that he came into power with a coup d'état. But he won a lot of supporters especially by the dismissal of the military bases."

Once again we come back to basis democracy and we wanted to know what happens in the question of tourism e.g. if there are 60% in favour and 40% against. Will both positions be transferred to the General People Congress?

"It wouldn't be democracy to neglect 40% of the population. The opinions in the Basis People Congresses are accounted each time and thereafter the distribution looks different in most cases. If e.g. 80% are in favour of tourism, tourism will be implemented to 80%, which is to say that the reasons of the opponent minority will be taken into consideration. Tourists don't get any alcohol for example, they've got to adapt to the culture. The decision in Kufra (city in the desert in the south of Libya) where there is only few water people said that they didn't want to build hotels for tourists and that they can't take daily showers due to the shortness of water, but that tourists are welcome, if they sleep in tents as we do and want to live here with us the way we live here."

? We ask how many people participate in the Basic People Congresses in the average?

"This is quite different. There are questions which interest almost everybody and then these people are coming."

We tell them that that we have often problems with our plenary meetings because there might be a soccer match and nobody comes to the meeting.

"During the Congresses all shops are closed. With the exclusion of an emergency service nobody has got to work and there are no soccer games on those days or they are delayed."

? If people shall make wise decisions they have to be informed well. How do you manage this?

"Informations from experts are distributed beforehand and the experts participate in the Congress meetings as well."

We couldn't imagine that the informations mailed would always be well-balanced and especially sufficient enough. But we didn't receive a satisfying answer.

The Lockerbie-Case

Reports from different european countries and Libya about the level of information and the evaluation of this case and the obliged surrender of the two Libyans by Great Britain and the USA.

Libyan statement

Libya is a member of the United Nations (UN), the Arab League (AL), the Maghreb Union and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The Libyan-US-American-conflict started in 1970 when the young revolutionary government kicked out the military-bases and had different culminating points during the 70's and 80's.

When the suspect against the two Libyans has gone public all Libyan students in the USA got expelled. And since 6 months there is an air-embargo even when obviously Libya is innocent. After the crash of the airplane over Lockerbie in december 1988 a lot of countries have been accused: Syria, Iran and different Palestinian groups. Three years later, when all the bad guys had turned into nice chaps, Libya was suddenly on the agenda.

In november 1991 a formal request for surrender was given to the Libyan government, which installed an examining magistrate. The Libyan demand is: 1) the acceptance of international laws (Treaty of Montreal) and 2) the acceptance of national sovereignty. Of course the guilty of the bombing should be punished, but right now Libya is accused and threatend with a military intervention. Great Britain and the USA demanded in the Security Council (SC) of the UN the surrender of the two Libyans and got the right to enforce it with the air-embargo (resolution 748). This means to ignore constitutional rights aswell as international laws. Libya wanted to cooperate: Suggestions were an international court in Libya, to accept the votum of the International Court of Justice in The Hague, to surrender the suspects to the AL or to Malta and install an international court there. Everything has been refused, the US/UK-alliance are only willing to accept their own prejudiced courts.

British statement

In 1986 the US bombed with British assistance Tripoli and Benghazi in revenge of the assault of the disco La Belle in West-Berlin. Later on it turned out that the wrong country had been bombed (the Syrians spent more money on their air-raid defence).

After all the usual Middle East terrorist-states had been suspected the enemy no. 1 (as Reagan declared) was found guilty. In a case of brilliant British forensic evidence the bomb was traced from the Scottish Highlands via Frankfurt and Malta to Kaddafi's tent. In the Pan-Am plane were a suitcase of cocain, some DEA agents, 5 CIA-agents with another suitcase full of money, the left-overs of a Middle East covert action to free Lebanese hostages.

For two days the CIA shut off the place of the accident. Nobody knows what has happend and which evidence

has been destroyed. All in all it looks like a masterpiece of US foreign policy.

Spanish statement

To surrender the two citizen would violate the Libyan laws because there is no treaty of extradition between the USA and Libya. It's important to analyse the relationship between Libya and the USA and their position in nowadays world. After the ending of the East-West-Conflict the USA poses as the world's safety-guard. But without any interest in a just New World Order: Their invasion of Panama, their dirty war against Nicaragua, their trading-embargo against Cuba. This culminates into the air-embargo against Libya.

And that's why it is important to create a human unity between all the jointly people. The only alternative can be a NEW peace-movement



Discussion of the statements

? means a question

! means an answer

? How does Libya cope with the situation now. We have heard you partly stopped the assistance of liberation movements and we would like to know if it weren't more sensible to keep the friends Libya still has.

! What do you mean by that.

? We think a campaign to discredit Libya is on and has nothing to do with any facts. The only way to cope with it is international solidarity. Naturally, Lockerbie is the occasion for an always wanted aggression. The solution can't be a draw-back (meaning: look, we are nice chaps).

? Why is this resolution compared to the Israel-resolutions obliging.

! Well, in spite of others this one is based on chapter 7 of the UN-Charta and therefore obliging (It's the second in the history of the UN; the first was against Iraq).

? Why isn't the AL supporting Libya. It wouldn't be possible to boycott the whole Arab World.

! The AL is frictioned. A lot of Arab countries are depending on imports. They simply can't afford to be affected by an embargo.

? An effective solidarity campaign must be started in the Arab World because no government in the northern hemisphere is willing to and only a few non-governmental organizations are not strong enough.

What do you think about constructing a peace process comparable to the CSCE in the Middle East and North Africa. Without any kind of talks there never will be peace.

! We assume this would lead to a severe rupture in the AL. Anyway, the presuppose would be that all states are sovereign. But Egypt f.e. is depending on wheat imports from the USA. Now it's more important to discuss the actual character of the UN. It's not acceptable at all that the Security Council consists out of the Group of 7, because too many of them have a veto and we developing countries have no chance whatsoever.

? How are the developing countries going to change the UN-system when the only criteria for UN-ambassadors are family-ties.

! So what, the industrialized criteria are party-ties.

? But back to the AL again, is there really no possibility at all they will not join the embargo.

! Well, we think it would have been possible to solve the Iraq-Quwait-Conflict within the Arab region. But some countries preferred to provide the USA with military-bases. As we already said there is no unity at all. Actually we don't want our neighbours to join us in a war, we just want them to stop providing the USA with logistical advice.

We never said a word against the arabic propaganda against Libya. We know it's wrong, but we can't afford to have any more enemies. It's like that, if an Arab country gets developing-aid from the US they fuss about it, but if it's money from Libya you better be quiet. We are back-benchers of international politics.

? What will Libya do in a forthcoming general assembly of the UN, there are only 20 European, but 150 Third-World-Countries.

! Nevertheless, it takes only one European state to oppress 10 of us. And look, China hasn't exercised

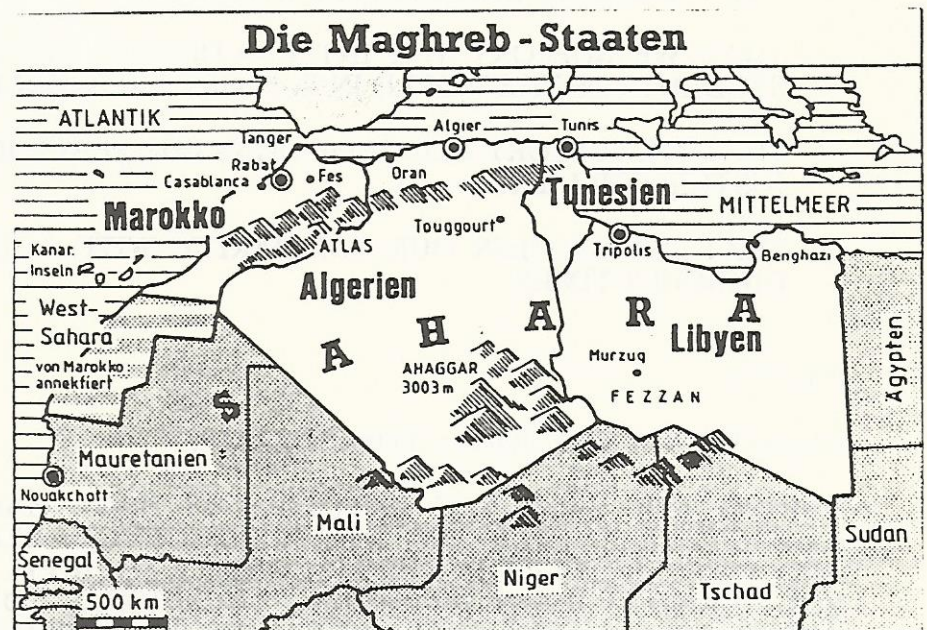
its veto. Conveniently there was a vote on Chinese-American trading-agreements on the agenda of the American government. So it was a simple this-for-that.

The Second World War made things like the Berlin-Wall an the UN possible. Today the Wall has gone (never mind the consequences), but the UN still exists in the same structures. A reorganization is overdue, but this we can't do on our own.

Regarding Lockerbie we will believe it wouldn't make a difference if we are going to surrender or not. The aggressions against Libya are an integral part of the US foreign policy and will continue anyway.

? So, if the Libyan position to the warrant of surrender won't matter at all, why do you stop the contributions of the liberation movements.

! Well, the Palestinians [which ones, we never found out] actually said Libya should stop the assistance. Because in the long run it's better to renounce for some time instead of everytime. And today Libya is in a situation of needing help and support for itself.



DECLARATION OF SOUSA YOUTH CAMP 25 - 31ST AUGUST 1992

INTRODUCTION

FOLLOWING THE SIRT CONFERENCE OF JUNE 1992 ORGANISED BY THE JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY FOR CULTURE AND PHILOSOPHY, THE RESOLUTION TO ORGANISE AN INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CAMP FOR GREEN, ALTERNATIVE AND PEACE MOVEMENTS CAME FRUITION:

THE YOUTH CAMP MET IN SOUSA IN THE GREAT SOCIALIST PEOPLES LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA BETWEEN AUGUST 25 TH AND 31ST 1992 TO DISCUSS ISSUES, CONCERNING OUR FUTURE AND THE FUTURE OF GENERATIONS TO COME : DELEGATES ATTENDED FROM MANY COUNTRIES INCLUDING SPAIN, UK, GERMANY, ROMANIA, LUXEMBOURG MALTA, LIBYA, AND DENMARK :

THE CAMP WAS EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL IN FACILITATING THE GLOBAL NETWORK NECESSARY FOR INTERNATIONAL CO - OPERATION BETWEEN YOUTH AND STUDENTS, AND FOR EDUCATING MANY DELEGATES ABOUT THE SOCIETY AND CUSTOMS OF OUR HOST COUNTRY THE GREAT SOCIALIST PEOPLES LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA : DURING THE CONFERENCE A CONSENSUS WAS REACHED ON MANY SUBJECTS : THE ATTACHED DECLARATION PROVIDES A SUMMARY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT :

DUE TO THE LACK OF INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL FORUMS FOR THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT THE YOUTH FRIENDSHIP CAMP AT SOUSA WILL BE THE FIRST OF MANY SUCH CAMPS - AND THAT A NEW MOVEMENT HAS BEEN BORN:

PART "1"

WE THE UNDERSIGNED PARTICIPANTS OF THE SOUSA YOUTH CAMP 1992 CALL FOR THE FOLLOWING :

- 1/ THAT THE CAMPAIGN TO OVERTURN THE TWO U.N. RESOLUTIONS AGAINST LIBYA IMPOSED UNJUSTLY, BE INTENSIFIED
- 2/ THAT WE SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION BY YOUTH AND STUDENTS OF THE WORLD IN SUPPORT THE WORLD ON NOVEMBER 15 TH 1992
- 3/ THAT WE SUPPORT ALL CAMPAIGNS FOR PEACE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND JUSTICE FOR LIBYA
- 4/ THAT WE EXPRESS OUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE LIBYAN PEOPLE IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES

PART "2"

EVALUATION THE SOUSA YOUTH CAMP.

DURING THE CAMP THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO PARTICIPATE IN FREE AND FRANK DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING VARIOUS ISSUES AND ASPECTS OF LIFE IN THE JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY . THESE HAVE INCLUDED THE YOUTH AND STUDENT MOVEMENT, EDUCATIONAL ADVANCES FOLLOWING THE EL FATAH REVOLUTION 1969 UNDER THE PRINCIPLE OF THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY, THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE PEOPLE, LIBYA IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT VISA VIS THE LOCKERBIE CRISIS, WOMEN IN THE JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY, AND THE CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS OF JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY.

WE HAVE ALSO ACQUIRED MUCH KNOWLEDGE OF THE RICH CULTURE OF JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY, AND LEARNT OF ITS HISTORY AND ITS ADVANCES

SIGNED,
YOUTH CAMP, SOUSA 1992

CONCERNING THE socalled MEN'S QUESTION

What you will read in the following, is a text written as a basis for discussion for the men's meeting of a FRG-infoshop-meeting. After that a protocol of the discussion that followed this text. The reason for writing this text was, that men's meeting, happening in infoshop-meetings before, as a rule drowned in trivial bla-bla or even in silence. To be a man in patriarchy is obviously not enough to start discussing about that.

For publishing, the text was gone over again slightly and the section concerning the Myth of Equality was added.

The publishing has the aim to give once again an impulse for a discussion about the "men's question", patriarchy and revolution. We hope for reaction, which can enrich the discussion on the next infoshop-meeting.

Basis For Discussion for the Men's Meeting

The authors think that patriarchy cannot be crystallized out of the general system, the totality of society. That means, that it is not possible to construct an independant structure, which (for example) exists autonomously of capitalist structures. Capitalism is always sexist (and racist), patriarchy on the contrary has undergone different mouldings in history, there are no (calculated roughly) 3000 years old, continually the same structures of mastery of men over women.

When the authors speak about structures, they don't have the view of control external of the "human being", which manipulates the people, but the "human beings" are part of the structures, and that concerns all: men and women, workers and capitalists. The structures pass through the people and give them the figures and the latitudes in which they can move and choose, and the individuals are reproducing theses structures by their day-to-day acting.

These structures are contradictory within themselves. They split up

society in spheres, which have different functions and are organised in a hierarchy according to their contribution to the overall aim of society - the production of (surplus-)value.

An example: The division of public and private

The unfolding capitalism, the goods production to the end of accumulating of value instead of meeting needs, is tearing apart the feudalistic entity of production and reproduction the extended family. The public sphere (which existed already before), in which goods are produced, administered and converted into (surplus-)value, in which the overall working is guarded, becomes the most important sphere, while the reproduction, the private, though necessary (and although it is created in the meaning of today only by this division) is considered of inferior value. The -well known - role-attributing is happening: The man as the 'feeder' and producer, the woman as the housewife and the emotional and material invisible hand. The public sphere is organized functional-rational, this excludes on principle any

sensuousness. The sensuousness, which precisely cannot be organized functionally-rational, is set of inferior value because of this refractoriness - and by that the projection object, the woman. If one is moving in the public sphere, is recognizing it as his sphere and is deriving his identity from it, this requires to be able to suppress sensuousness and to postpone sensual needs - until the return to the private sector family. In other words: One has to be psychically structured in a way, so that the social division of public and private can be duplicated and endured/managed.

Small example: Social Work

On the one hand social work is always contradictory in itself, because - as a capitalized sector of reproductive work - requires a work, which is sensuous (Dealing with other people's feelings etc.), but at the same time forces it in a form which actually excludes exactly this. On the other hand social work is valued differently by the men and women who are doing it: Men upvalue the activities, they adjust them to the

necessity of forming an identity by working, while women consider them more as a salaried pursuit of their (domestic) women's role. The man projects sensuousness on the private sector, that means heterosexuals on women - because of external necessities (= structural violence), which include the behaviour of other men and women, and because of the corresponding pre-structuring of the male psyche. Women in the public sphere are either recognized as being of neutral sex or are used (by heterosexuals) as projection screens for suppressed sensuousness, because on principle they are an 'alien element' in a 'men's world' and have to be put in 'their' place by psychological digestion mechanisms. By the way, the first coincides with the bourgeois equivalence (of course to the goods it is the same by whom they are produced, although the capitalist is using biological and social differences for his pursuit of profit), which neglects differences between individuals, the later is the emphasis on the difference (in this case the one between man and woman), which is biologically ideologized, what is equally bourgeois. In the private sector, the family/relationship and its developments (Single, 'polygamy' etc.) the heterosexual is oscillating between the ideal/desire of freedom/independence of the woman, the resumption of the ideal of the glutton for work reproducing and being sufficient for itself, on the one hand, and the acceptance of the dependence on the emotional work of the

woman on the other hand. He wavers between self-realization in the private sector and wrapping up in a total relationship, the perfect symbiosis, which promises eternal bliss and safety.

What does that mean to revolutionary men, i.e. us?

When the authors talk about men/heterosexuals, this of course includes us (and the authors). We are unseparably a part of the system, whether we want or not, we live in the compulsions given by the social structures and are reproducing these structures by our day-to-day acting. A boycott is not possible, the individual balancing out (even the one of 1.000 individuals side-by-side) a bourgeois idea which at best results in taking oneself for a ride.

If the male bourgeois individual normally tries to find its identity in the public sector, or - because of the increasing feeble-mindedness and uselessness of the activities in this sector - projects it on a 'self-realization' in the private sector, then in our scene this appears as the searching for identity in the political action. Just politics as a public event is a part of the public sector par excellence. Identity is formed by the particular form of political action (theory, street fighting, functionary work etc.) and is guarded by the corresponding ideological superstructure, with the tendency of resulting in the depreciation of other, seemingly or really competing forms of activity/identities (theory versus practice etc.) Sensuousness is excluded

also from our practice - and that often necessarily: There is no sensuous theoretical work and an attack on fascists surely is one of the most un-sensuous matters at all. And we are projecting the sensuousness we cannot tolerate on the private sector and - as far as heterosexuals are concerned - on women. Our relation towards women in mixed groups is corresponding to that: Either they are considered as being of neutral sex, i.e. they are not recognized as individuals with a different social background (considering revolution - and counter-revolution - all are equal) and/or the difference is emphasized and they are identified with a special sort of functions, for example the well-known as the oil on the waves of male competition and the invisible hand for the essential, identity creating work of men. But this also means that a dependence on women exists, that logically has to be denied automatically, to not destroy the myth of the autonomous, free individual fighting heroically with unselfish devotion for revolution.

A downright trivial example: The self-organisation of women.

When women are liberating themselves from this assignments and identifications and want to make visible and live 'womanliness', that means organize themselves according to their ideas and needs, they attack exactly these structures. The predominating form of reaction, the attempt to hinder the self-organisation, at least to control it, is the

result of, on the one hand, the fear of being deprived, on the other hand the fear of the unmasking of the myth of equivalence.

**First excursion:
We enlarge on the fear of
being deprived
(or the fear of loss)**

As has been said, fear of loss means the fear of losing the source of reproduction/sensuousness, which is split off and has to be reappropriated, but in this way can be controlled; the fear of losing the area of retreat, the peace and protection of the competition in the 'men's world', the struggle for identity and power. This refers to the fear of sensuousness/intimacy with other men. To split off and control sensuousness means conversely, that it is experienced as a danger, if it could be connected with the pulling down of borderlines between sectors, often split off necessarily, like functionality/rationality and feelings/sensuousness (and on principle this danger with sensuousness does always exist, because it balks at functionality and frequently appears in waves - look at the famous/notorious floating in the case of falling love). Because of the pre-dominion of rational/functional alliances and competition among men, sensuousness is especially considered a threat of male identity. It is a threat to the borderlines, which are erected between oneself and the other and which are only stepped over under narcotism or extreme emotional conditions. In this the myth of the gay as being sexually indefatigable and

infinite sensuous has its roots - the same myth as of other 'children of nature' as blacks - which is at the same time admired/envied and resisted. Men's leagues are functional/rational alliances - at least for the mutual affirmation that one is man and not a woman - in which the competition is put aside for some time to reach a common goal, in which homo-erotic machinations are a lubricant and get a vent, but have to be kept in strict limits to be tolerated. The more severe are the sanctions, when the limits are stepped over. For heterosexuals gays represent the permanent reminder that there could be a different life than theirs - even if this results in the strangest attributes and projections on gays. (Lesbians on the contrary represent the most consequent threat to male control of their source of sensuousness.)

**Second excursion:
Concerning the myth of
equality.**

Equality is always abstract, it is indifferent of the specific content - consequently for example Christian Klar (prisoner of the RAF) and Christian Worch (one Führer of Nazi organizations) should be treated in line with the same laws (according to the classic bourgeois standards). This principle is valid in our structures too: Women are having equal rights - and if they don't throw stones, we conclude that they are just different, or are to blame themselves anyway, because they would have the right to do it.

Beyond this horizon: The maybe different motivation, the different confrontation, the preceding alteration of the own socialization - equality exists only abstract, as a moral category in duty of revolution.

In our ranks equality (of course the one in duty of revolution) is considered as a sublime goal, which we, as good revolutionaries, have already reached (or, cross my heart and hope to die, are hard working at). If women, while pointing at existing un-equalities and relations of dominion, attack this and expose it as a myth, firstly we are peeved, secondly we are trying to 'realize' the same principle on a new level. Favorite measures are the tolerating of a controllable women's self-organisation (also suitable as an alibi), the formal equation by quotas, power of veto etc. and the self-accusating plea of guilty plus following imitation of a Chamäleon. That women, who don't want to be subsumed under this equality, or - as lesbian - cannot be subsumed, are excluded and are made invisible by that, is then only a logical consequence.

(some men from 2 cities)

This is a list of Infoshops connected to the International Infoshop Meeting.

If you want your Infoshop to be added on this list, write down the adress, telephonenumber and send it to CLASH

Austria

Infoladen
Margaretengürtel
122-124/1/K
1050 Wien
(+43) 0222-
542307

Infoladen
Kapuzinerstr. 36
4020 Linz
(+43) 0732-
279660

Infoladen
Schillerstr. 7/19
8010 Graz
(+43) 0316-
384739

Britain

Bookshop
121 Ruiton Road
London SE 24

56A Infoshop
56A Crampton
Road
London SE 17

TSDC, London
ABC
121 Railton Road
London SE 24
Anti-Facist-Action
BM BOX 1734
London WC1
N3XX

Denmark

Autonomt Info
Elmegade 27
2200 Copenhagen
N
(+45) 31351212

Cafe Usmalia
Ungdomhuset
Jagdevej 69
2200 Copenhagen
N

Euskadi

Urtoki Kollektiboa
Apdo 1453
Donostia -
S. Sebastian
(Guipuzkoa)
3443421931

France

Wolnitza
42 Rue Bordeau
6900 Lyon

M.A.P. Printing
37, Rue Burdeaux
69001 Lyon

Germany-East

Infoladen Daneben
Rigaerstr. 84
O-1035 Berlin

Infoladen
Bestattung
Kastanienallee 85
O-1058 Berlin

Infoladen
Hebbelstr. 15
O-1560 Potsdam

Infoladen
Kellnerstr. 10A
O-4020 Halle/S

Infoladen Sabotnik
c/o Mainzerhof
e.V.
Mainzerhofplatz 6
O-5020 Erfurt
(+) 0361-27865

Infocafe
Gerberstr. 1
O-5300 Weimar

Infoladen
Brandströmstr. 6
O-6900 Jena

Infoladen Grenzfall
Grünstr. 60
O-7560 Guben

Germany-West
Sparstr. 21
Infoladen Omega
1000 Berlin 65
(+49) 030-
4537023

Nachladen
Waldemarstr. 36
1000 Berlin 36

Papiertiger
Cuvrystr. 25
1000 Berlin 36

Schwarzmarkt
Kleiner
Schäferkamp 46
2000 Hamburg 36
(+49) 040-446095

Infoladen Omega
Bahnhofstr. 44
2350 Neumünster
(+49) 04321-
45927

Infoladen ThePrax
c/o T-stube
Am Stadtpark 2
2370 Redensburg
(+49) 04331-
29566

Infoladen
Hafermarkt 6
2390 Flensburg
(+49) 0461-12991

Infoladen Assata
c/o Alternative e.V.
A. d. Wallhalbinsel
27

2400 Lübeck
(+49) 0451-
861497

Infoladen
Umschlagplatz
St. Pauli Str. 10-12
2800 Bremen
(+49) 0421-75682

Infoladen
Kornstr. 28/30
3000 Hannover 1
(+49)0511-715032

Infoladen
c/o Buchladen
Rote Str. 10
3400 Göttingen
Projekt Archiv
c/o Druckluft
Am Förderturm 27
4200 Oberhausen
Infoladen
Oesterholzstr. 88
4600 Dortmund
(+49) 0231-
837481

Infoladen Anschlag
Heeperstr. 132
4800 Bielefeld
(+49) 0521-
171253

Infoladen
L.-Camphausen-
Str.36
5000 Köln 1
(+49) 0221-
522907

Infoladen Bonn
Wolfstr. 10/HH
5300 Bonn 1
(+49) 0228-
659513

Infoladen
Brunnenstr. 41
5600 Wuppertal
(+49) 0202-
311790

Infoladen
c/o Exzess
Leipziger Str. 91
6000 Frankfurt/M-
Bockenheim

Infoladen
Frankfurter Str. 63
6050 Offenbach
(+49) 069-821522

Infoladen "Basta"
Frankfurter Str. 58
6100 Darmstadt
(+49) 06151-
295639

Infoladen
Werderstr. 8
6200 Wiesbaden
(+49) 0611-
440664

Infoladen
Südanlage 20/HH
6300 Gießen
(+49) 0641-74423

Infoladen Moskitto
Alte Bergheimer
Str. 7a
6900 Heidelberg
(+49) 06221-
181200

Pressehütte
Mutlangen
- Infoladen
Forststr. 3
7075 Mutlangen
(+49)07171-76210

Infoladen Subito
Klarastr. 73
7800 Freiburg
(+49) 0761-
381414
Infoladen
Breisacherstr. 12
8000 München 80
(+49) 089-
4489638

Infoladen Uferlos
K. Adenauer Allee
21
8900 Augsburg

Italy

Radio Onda Rossa
Via dei Volsi 56
00 100 Roma
(+39) 6-491750

Centro Sociale
Leoncavallo
Via Leoncavallo 22
20 100 Milano
(+39) 2-26140287

T28 Infoshop
Via dei Transisti
28
Milano

Radio Onda d'Urto
Contrada Carmine
16
25 121 Brescia
(+39) 30-46596

Radia Sherwood
Vicola Pontecorvo
1a
35 100 Padova
(+39) 49-46596

Centro Sociale
Gramigna
Via Monta 100
Padova

C. di
Comunicazione
Antagoni
Via Avesella 5/B
40 100 Bologna

C. Informazione
Internazionale
V. Tagliapietre 8/B
Bologna
051-260556

Netherland

Infokafee de Kolk
PB 3762
(Nieuwezijdsdolk
11)

1001 AN
Amsterdam

Infoshop Gron
Steentilstraat 38
Mail: PB 2107
Groningen
(+31) 050-133247

De Invalshoek
Koppenhinksteeg 2
2312 HX Leiden
(+31) 071-127619

Infowinkel Phoenix
Stieltjestraat 21
3071 JX
Rotterdam
(+31) 010-
4231385

Infowinkel Assata
Koninejnnelaan 1
6542 ZH Nijmegen

Norway

Blitz Bokkafe
Pilestredet 30 C
0146 Oslo
(+47) 2110109

UFFA Info
Inherredsvn 69 c
7002 Trondheim
(+47) 07-514899

Sweden

Bokhandeln Info
Hornsgatan 151
Stockholm
(+46) 08-6585839

Barrikaden
(Newspaper)
BOX 7539
20042 Malmö

Wapiti
Killiansg. 15
22221 Lund
(+46) 140977

Spain

Lokal
Calle de la Cerra 2
Barcelona

Switzerland

Autonome
Volxbibliothek
c/o Reitschule
Neubuchstr. 8
3012 Bern
(+) 31246317

Infoladen Kasama
Postfach
(Anwandstr. 34)
8026 Zürich